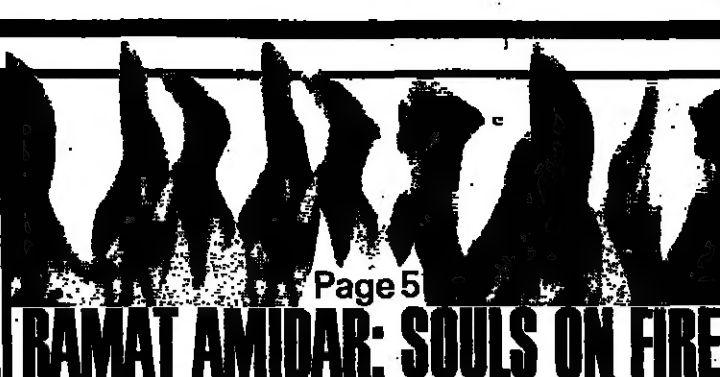




Page 7
Portrait of a Nationalist



Magazine Page 6



Page 5
A RARE SOUL



Page 8



Page 9

'One-sided view'

NBC film on areas causes storm

By WALTER RUBY
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
NEW YORK. — A storm has blown up here over an NBC documentary, screened on Wednesday night, dealing with Israel's 20 years in the West Bank and Gaza. The television film, *Six Days Plus Twenty Years: A Dream is Dying*, is, as its title implies, sharply critical of Israel.

The film shows Israeli troops kicking and beating West Bankers, Meir Kahane threatening to expel the Arabs, and liberal Israelis talking about "the corrupting effects of the occupation."

NBC anchorman Tom Brokaw states: "This was not supposed to happen when Israel won its victory 20 years ago. The hope was for a permanent peace."

Other negative images show Israeli soldiers demolishing the homes of terrorist suspects and fencing off Arab shops in Hebron. Interviews with Jewish settlers show them laying claim to the West Bank on the basis of payments made by the Patriarchate, Abraham and Jacob and by King David.

Abraham Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith called the NBC programme "a shocking example of one-sided TV journalism." He said there had been "no attempt to put in perspective why and how this situation developed."

Harriet Mandel of the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York said: "It was a simplistic and one-sided view of a very complicated issue that was distorted and unbalanced."

Television reviewer John Corry wrote in *The New York Times*: "We would have a surer sense of what it was all about if NBC had included an old-fashioned map. It is impossible to understand the occupation without knowing about Israel's geography."

(Continued on Page 18)

Shamir again extends hand to Egypt

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Prime Minister Shamir this week renewed his invitation to Egyptian Foreign Minister Esmet Abdel Meguid to come to Israel on an official visit. The move is in line with recent efforts by close advisers of Shamir to initiate a dialogue between Cairo and the Likud component of the government. Efforts are also being made to try to get Egypt to invite Shamir for a visit.

Shamir extended an invitation to the Egyptian foreign minister at their meeting in New York last September when Shamir was foreign minister shortly before the rotation. The renewed invitation this week was meant to be a formal reminder.

Circles close to Shamir point out that since the rotation last October Egypt had only invited Energy Minister Moshe Shahal and Agriculture Minister Arye Nehamkin of the Alignment and former communications minister Amnon Rubinstein of Shinui.

George Wise, at 81

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Tel Aviv University chancellor George Wise died yesterday at the Mount Sinai Hospital in Miami, at the age of 81.

Dr. Wise, a scholar, industrialist and philanthropist, became president of the university in 1963, when it had 1,200 students in two faculties. By the time he retired in 1971 there were 12,000 students studying in eight faculties, with a teaching staff of 1,000. (See Page 4)

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THE JERUSALEM POST

Court rejects plea against extradition

Nakash pins hopes on Mitterrand

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter
Following the rejection of his High Court petition yesterday, William Nakash is now pinning his hopes on the goodwill of French President Francois Mitterrand and the potential obstinacy of a Jerusalem Rabbinical Court to avert—or at least postpone—his impending extradition to France.

A bird frantically attempting to escape the confines of the High Court chamber during the hearing yesterday was considered a good omen by Nakash's mother-in-law, who cried: "It is a sign from God that he will soon be released."

Supreme Court President Meir Shamgar smiled in response, but returned two hours later and dashed her hopes.

"The court finds no fault with Justice Minister Avraham Shari's decision to extradite," he said, rejecting Nakash's request for an order nisi.

A subdued Nakash, his head shaven and without a skull-cap, muttered: "I'll wait and see. As long as I'm here there is still hope." His wife Rina, who had hoped that her recent artificially induced pregnancy might sway the judges, burst into tears and said: "I am confused. I have no idea

what is happening to me, but there is always hope."

One of Rina Nakash's hopes is based on an appeal sent to President Mitterrand by her husband's attorney Roland Roth. Citing Bastille Day on July 14 and Mitterrand's "well-known sensitivity to humanitarian problems," Roth asked the president to retract his country's extradition request and agree to Nakash being punished in Israel.

Israel Radio reported last night that Prime Minister Shamir had also come to Nakash's aid by attempting to arrange a meeting between Mitterrand and MK Haim Druckman, who opposes Nakash's extradition.

Israel Television reported that the Prime Minister's Office had attempted to get Israel's ambassador to France to arrange such a meeting for Minister Yitzhak Peretz, but the attempts had been vetoed by Foreign Minister Peres.

Attorney-General Yosef Harish will ask the Jerusalem Rabbinical Court in the next few days to rescind an outstanding order barring Nakash from leaving the country while a divorce suit filed by his wife Rina is still pending.

Rabbinical Court agreement to Harish's request was depicted as mandatory in last March's High Court decision.

(Continued on Page 18)



Jordan's King Hussein shows Austrian President Kurt Waldheim the view of the Jordan Valley towards Israel in northwest Jordan yesterday.

Waldheim, in Jordan, gets a look at Israel

Post Middle East Staff and agencies
AMMAN. — King Hussein personally flew Austrian President Kurt Waldheim on a sightseeing tour yesterday during which the Austrian leader peered through binoculars into Israel.

Meanwhile, Nazi hunter Beate Klarsfeld was detained here by security officials yesterday when she tried to protest Waldheim's visit to Jordan at one of his sightseeing stops, an Amman monument to Jordanian war dead.

Waldheim expressed delight with his "excellent" reception in Jordan, in contrast to the international controversy over his wartime record with Hitler's Army.

Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock also told a news conference here yesterday that the warm Jordanian welcome would help Waldheim overcome allegations of Nazi war crimes.

And a leading Jordanian newspaper, *Al-Dustour*, said the Waldheim visit and his welcome were "in direct response to the unwarranted slander campaign against him led by the Zionists."

On the helicopter tour, King Hussein flew Waldheim to the heights of Umm Qais (Gilead), opposite the Golan, for a view of the strategic point where Israel, Syria and Jordan meet. There Waldheim chatted with the king and peered through powerful binoculars into Israel.

"Security comes from peace, a just peace," the king told reporters at the site, indirectly referring to his efforts to convene an international peace conference.

"Security is a frame of mind — of justice and of peace. Hopefully, we will be able to achieve it," he added.

At a banquet speech on Wednesday night, Waldheim reiterated Austrian support for an international peace conference.

(Continued on Page 18)

Prime Minister's Office to rap Jordan on visit

By BENNY MORRIS
Post Diplomatic Correspondent
While the Foreign Ministry yesterday persisted in its "no comment" position concerning Austrian President Kurt Waldheim's on-going visit to Jordan, the Prime Minister's Office signalled its intention to lambast Jordan's hosting of the alleged Nazi war criminal.

According to observers, the emerging split between the ministries is a function of the basic divergence of views between Foreign Minister Peres and Prime Minister Shamir over the Middle East peace process. The observers suggested that Peres and his ministry were withholding criticism of the visit out of a desire to avoid ruffling Jordanian sensibilities at a time when King Hussein is regarded as a major partner in a prospective international peace conference.

The Prime Minister's Office, meanwhile, which opposes the conference idea, has no qualms about criticizing Jordan over the visit. A senior source at the Prime Minister's Office yesterday told *The Jerusalem Post* that "we shall have a [critical] reaction about the visit at its end. [I don't believe] it will [be allowed] to pass quietly, especially if a [joint] announcement at the end of the visit refers to us [in negative terms]."

Regarding reports that Waldheim also intends to visit Egypt in the near future, sources in both ministries said that Israel has "no knowledge" about an Egyptian invitation to Waldheim or about the possibility of such a visit. "Such a visit would be an offence to Israel. Egypt is a country at peace with Israel. An invitation to such a man to visit [would be regarded as offensive to us]," said the senior source in the Prime Minister's Office.

Egyptian Ambassador to Israel Mohammed Bassiouny said yesterday that he knows "nothing" about an Egyptian invitation or a possible Waldheim visit to Egypt and declined all comment on the matter.

Meanwhile, the man who reportedly will be the Israeli member of the international commission being appointed by Austria to investigate Waldheim's Nazi past, Prof. Yehuda Wallach, has "not

(Continued on Page 18)

Rabin okays W. Bank water drilling project

By JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter
Defence Minister Rabin has approved in principle a controversial water-drilling project in the West Bank which is to pump massive quantities of water from the Bethlehem area to Jerusalem.

Sources close to the project confirmed that Rabin gave his approval more than a week ago, and that legal aspects of the scheme were currently under discussion between legal advisers of the Mekorot water company and the defence establishment.

Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, who has warned that the project will deplete Arab water resources, has expressed his concern to officials at the U.S. consulate in Jerusalem. They are considering taking up the issue with the Israeli authorities.

Freij told *The Jerusalem Post* this week that he may petition the High Court of Justice to stop the scheme.

The Judea and Samaria Civil Administration has made its agreement to the project conditional on compensation and the provision of an alternative water supply for Arab communities whose wells could be depleted by the project. The administration is demanding guarantees of sufficient water at an equitable price to meet current and future demands of the Arab towns and villages.

Freij told *The Post* that he had little faith in guarantees, and that the plan should be scrapped.

The project is slated to pump 18 million cubic metres of water annually from a drilling site near Herodion, southeast of Bethlehem, and to supply most of it to Jerusalem and Jewish settlements, according to sources associated with the scheme.

A quarter to a third of the water pumped is to go to Arab communities, the sources said.

Agriculture Minister Arye Nehamkin and top water officials said this week that the scheme would assure adequate water supplies to Arab villages and towns. They denied that the deep-drilling project would deplete existing wells, saying it would tap a different aquifer which is currently unexploited.

Egged: No safety devices

Girl, 5, hurt as bus moves with doors open

By JUDY SIEGEL
Post Science and Health Reporter
Egged has "no plans" to install a device in its buses that would make it impossible for them to move when the back doors are open. This despite the fact that a five-year-old Jerusalem girl was seriously injured when she fell out of a bus that started moving when the doors were still open.

Egged spokesman Gideon Talmor told *The Jerusalem Post* that he was not aware of the accident nor of any complaints against drivers who drove off before closing the doors.

"While the accident is unfortunate, we cannot change the design of thousands of buses because of it," he said. He conceded that it is "difficult" for a driver to see a child standing on the steps near the back door, even with the various mirrors on the bus.

In other countries, notably the U.S., devices are installed to prevent buses from moving when the rear doors are open.

On Wednesday afternoon, five-year-old Sima Mizrahi was travelling home on the No. 11 bus in Jerusalem's Har Nof quarter with her aunt. According to the family, she went to the back of the bus, holding her hand out for Sima. But, say witnesses, before the girl could get down the steps, the bus, which was parked

(Continued on Page 18)

'Moment of truth has arrived'

Rabin returns with U.S. reply on the Lavi

By DAVID MAKOVSKY in Washington and JOSHUA BRILLIANT in Tel Aviv
appears to be waning. Lavi supporters said yesterday that 10 ministers were for the project, 10 against, and four — Shamir, Peres, Rabin and Minister-without-Portfolio Yitzhak Peretz — were uncommitted.

However, sources said some of the ministers who had supported the project may join its opponents. An aide to Economics Minister Gad Ya'acobi told *The Jerusalem Post* that he is reconsidering his position in view of information presented to the cabinet.

Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsur is also said to be no longer firmly in the supporters' camp, and will be very much influenced by Rabin's report on his talks in the U.S.

Both Peres and Shamir would, in principle, like to see the programme through to completion, but neither apparently knows how to finance it. Shamir has been seeking a way acceptable to the defence establishment, while Peres has argued that Israel must take risks to be at the forefront of technological and scientific development.

"Some things cannot be evaluated by money alone," Peres told the Labour Party Bureau in Tel Aviv yesterday, citing the fact that Israel is one of six countries in the world capable of manufacturing such a technologically advanced fighter plane.

Some reports said that Shamir and his economic aides, who have been seeking unsuccessfully for ways to

(Continued on Page 18)

Wage talks collapse

By JEFF BLACK
For The Jerusalem Post
The public sector wage talks between the Histadrut's trade union department and the Treasury collapsed yesterday.

Angry trade union officials charged that the Treasury had presented a more extreme position in this round of talks than at previous ones. The officials added that they saw no point in continuing the negotiations under such conditions and that the next move would be determined by union officials on Sunday afternoon.

Haim Haberfeld, Histadrut trade union department head, described the Treasury's proposals, which rejected demands for a wage increase and a shorter working week, as a "hutzpa" and an insult to the Histadrut's intelligence.

But he told reporters that the trade unions would not take any industrial action until July 12 — the end of the two-week warning period following the unions' recent declaration of a labour dispute.

Hillel Duda'i, the Treasury's chief wage negotiator, denied there had been a change in the Treasury's position. He said that given the economy's situation, "I think we have to stick to our position and not give an across-the-board pay rise."

But Haberfeld was adamant that the Treasury had hardened its stance. "Maybe in the week's grace we've given them, there will be a change in their stance," he said.

The only point of agreement at yesterday's meeting was a decision to establish a joint Histadrut-Treasury team to investigate the problem of public sector pensions, which both sides agree have been eroded over the past two years.

Neither side yesterday proposed a date for renewed negotiations.

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Dr. Josef Burg — President World Mizrahi
H.E. Mr. Thomas Pickering — American Ambassador in Israel
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The weather at major Swissair destinations

	2,787	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	10	8	12	Clear
BRUSSELS	10	8	12	Clear
WILMANS DIJK	10	8	12	Clear
CHICAGO	10	8	12	Clear
COPENHAGEN	11	9	13	Clear
FRANKFURT	11	9	13	Clear
GENEVA	11	9	13	Clear
HELSINKI	11	9	13	Clear
BONN	11	9	13	Clear
JOHANNESBURG	11	9	13	Clear
LONDON	11	9	13	Clear
MADRID	11	9	13	Clear
MONTREAL	11	9	13	Clear
NEW YORK	11	9	13	Clear
OSLO	11	9	13	Clear
PARIS	11	9	13	Clear
RIO DE JANEIRO	11	9	13	Clear
SAO PAULO	11	9	13	Clear
STOCKHOLM	11	9	13	Clear
TOKYO	11	9	13	Clear
YOKOHAMA	11	9	13	Clear
ZURICH	11	9	13	Clear

THE WEATHER

Forecast: Slight drop in temperatures
Forecast for Saturday: A further slight drop in temperatures.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Min-Max
Jerusalem	43	19-27	26
Golan	33	16-32	31
Nahariya	42	21-29	28
Safed	42	21-29	28
Haifa Port	46	21-30	30
Tiberias	36	24-36	36
Nazareth	30	23-31	31
Afula	30	23-31	31
Sharon	44	19-30	29
Tel Aviv	69	22-29	29
B-G Airport	64	20-30	30
Jericho	24	21-40	40
Qaza	74	22-28	28
Beersheba	23	17-37	33
Eilat	17	23-41	40

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The Governor of Georgia and Mrs. Joe Frank Harris yesterday visited the Weizmann Institute of Science as guests of its vice president for international operations and public affairs, Mr. Hanan Bar-On. They also visited the solar research project with Prof. Moshe Levy.

Birth

Hadas and Uri Ran (Rubinstein) announce the birth of a son, brother to Rotem, on 5 Tammuz 5747 (2 July 1987). Grandson to Raya and Aharon Krantz and Connie and Aryeh Rubinstein.

3 die in road mishap

Three people were killed and eight injured, most of them seriously, when two cars collided on the Khan Yunis-Rafiah road on Wednesday night.

Police say the accident occurred when a driver of a private vehicle tried to overtake a truck and crashed into a taxi.

Yesterday, five soldiers were injured outside Tiberias when a truck drove into them as they were walking near the Tzemaich junction. Two of the injured were reportedly in serious condition. (Itim)

HOME NEWS

Shamir signals U.S.: Stay out of internal affairs

Post Diplomatic Correspondent
Prime Minister Shamir yesterday obliquely cautioned the U.S. against interfering in Israel's internal affairs. Speaking in his office to a group of participants in a three-day symposium on Israeli-U.S. relations, Shamir said that it was "important to warn" against such U.S. interference in order to avoid the alienation by the U.S. of "parts of the Israeli public."

Most of the participants, who included such figures as former U.S. ambassador to Israel, Samuel Lewis, and former State Department official

Alfred Atherton, understood Shamir to be referring to American involvement in the launching of a possible international conference for Middle East peace, which the Likud opposes and Labour supports.

Shamir said that the U.S. is very popular among the Israeli public but that this popularity is endangered by perceptions of American involvement in internal Israeli affairs.

The symposium participants told Shamir that in recent years support for Israel in the U.S. has grown, despite such temporary "bumps" as the Lebanon war and the Pollard

U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering last night toasted Israel-American friendship saying that "we have overcome past difficulties." Speaking at a reception at his residence in Herzliya, Pickering praised the unique relationship.

Over 1,000 guests representing Israel's entire political establishment, headed by Prime Minister Shamir and Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Peres, attended the garden party.

The letter read, in part: "It is in the spirit of the Constitution and of the great American experience, that you, dear Ron, have led the free world in the last seven years in the struggle for peace and freedom. This

struggle, in which we are proud to be your allies and partners, is not easy; but it is a worthwhile cause, and as our ancient sages say: 'It is not for you to complete the work, but neither are you free to desist from it.' "This year we again look back with satisfaction at the positive and successful development of our relations in many spheres. May I take this opportunity to express the wish that you will enjoy the best of health and good spirits in the future, as you continue to lead the American people towards continued prosperity and success."

Shot in the dark

By ANDY COURT
For The Jerusalem Post
The Border Policeman who shot a soldier at the Mandelbaum junction in Jerusalem a fortnight ago did not intend to fire his weapon, the officer who headed an investigation into the shooting said yesterday.

Tat Nitzav Gabi Last said that the Border Police had concluded its investigation and passed its recommendations on to the State Attorney's Office, which will decide what action to take against the policeman.

"There is negligence here," Last said. "It shouldn't have happened. But the policeman didn't intend to shoot."

The injured soldier's father, Ezra Daniel, said in response to Last's comments: "Now they say it was a mistake. But I say that a person who doesn't know how to use a weapon shouldn't be given one."

On June 21, Yitzhak Daniel, a 27-year-old soldier in the regular army, was shot in the leg when two plainclothes Border Policemen approached the car in which he and three other young men were riding.

The police say they planned to conduct a drug search, having followed the car from a refugee camp known for its drug trade. Daniel says that he and the others were simply returning from a soccer game.

The policemen smashed the windows of the car, which they say the passengers had rolled up to prevent them from conducting the search. But Daniel says that he was shot as he was getting out of the car in an attempt to comply with the policemen's orders.

Daniel says he plans to file charges against the policeman who shot him.

Ganei Tikva attack

Judge raps suspects but grants them bail

TEL AVIV (Itim). - Three residents of Ganei Tikva charged with assaulting four labourers from the West Bank were yesterday released on bail by the Tel Aviv Magistrates' Court.

The court sharply condemned the actions of the accused, saying that "attacking a person because of his ethnic origins or religious beliefs is particularly repugnant in the Jewish state," but nevertheless ruled that there was no justification for refusing bail. The three were released against guarantees of NIS 5,000 each.

The police had asked that the men be remanded in custody for 10 days, pending identification parades which they hoped would result in the arrest of more suspects.

Police said that Amnon Kochavi, 50, Rafi Levy, 34, and Efraim Arussi, 25, all of Ganei Tikva, phoned the home of contractor Eli Rabina in Ganei Yehuda close to midnight on Saturday June 27, and gave him 24 hours to clear Arab workers out of a hut where they were sleeping.

The police witness added that at 12:45 a.m. this Tuesday, several men broke into the hut and beat up the people sleeping there. The witness called the affair "a public scandal if not worse" and said the police were particularly interested in pursuing the case.

In a related development, MK Yossi Sarid (Citizens Rights Movement) cabled Prime Minister Shamir to issue "a whole-hearted condemnation" of the recent attacks on Arabs. Shamir's silence, said Sarid, indicated approval of the acts.

Terror suspects' rooms sealed

By JOEL GREENBERG

Rooms inhabited by three youths charged with the fatal stabbing in November of Yeshiva student Elihu Amedi in Jerusalem's Old City have been sealed by security forces in Jenin. An additional room was demolished.

The sealings were carried out on Wednesday night after the High Court of Justice rejected petitions by

the youths - the brothers Omar and Hizma Zayed, and Samir Mahmud.

Security forces also put Hassan Ayoub, 24, of the Askar refugee camp in administrative detention for six months on suspicion of subversive activities and membership in the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. He was the fourth suspected DFLP member put in administrative detention in 24 hours.

Labour picks candidate to replace Dulzin

The Labour Party Bureau decided unanimously last night to recommend to the party's central committee the nomination of Jewish Agency Treasurer Akiva Lewinsky as

Labour's candidate to replace Arye Deri as chairman of the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Executive. Elections for the post are due to be held in December.

Extradition of alleged sex offender deferred

Post Diplomatic Correspondent
Prime Minister and Acting Interior Minister Yitzhak Shamir yesterday deferred decision on the deportation to the U.S. of Abraham Mondrowitz, an American ultra-Orthodox psychologist suspected of molesting dozens of children over the past 10 years.

At a meeting with Attorney-General Yosef Harish, Deputy Minister Ronni Milo, Minister-without-Portfolio Yitzhak Peretz, State Attorney Yona Blattman and Interior Ministry Director-General Arye Deri, Shamir heard the various arguments for and against extradition and decided to postpone his decision "for several weeks," according to an aide.

Harish and Blattman pressed for Mondrowitz's extradition, but the ultra-Orthodox parties - Agudat Yisrael and Shas, led by Peretz - have been lobbying against it for the past few weeks. Peretz, who opposed Mondrowitz's extradition when he was interior minister, is understood to have argued the case against the extradition yesterday without exaggerated enthusiasm.

Shamir is now acting interior minister, with the ultimate authority on questions of extradition. Sources said last night that Shamir hopes eventually to go through with the extradition without alienating his ultra-Orthodox partners, who in principle oppose extraditing Jews to gentile countries.



Finance Minister Moshe Nissim and Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli-Ahmosino hear about the difficulties of obtaining medical care for the elderly during a tour yesterday of government hospitals. Nissim said that the problem of providing care for the elderly was a difficult one, but it could be solved through increased efficiency. (Yael Sun)

Court order on Brazil babies

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The High Court of Justice yesterday issued an order nisi, giving Yitzhak Shamir as acting interior minister 30 days to show why he shouldn't cancel the prefix "20" on the identity card numbers of adopted children from Brazil.

The order came shortly after Interior Ministry Director-General Arye Deri said that he did not plan to comply with Deputy Attorney-General Yehudit Karp's demand that the ministry cancel the prefixes. Last week, Ronni Milo resigned as Shamir's representative at the Interior Ministry after Deri refused to implement Milo's Knesset pledge that the numbers would be changed.

The court order followed a petition by a Jerusalem father of two adopted children from Brazil. The petition, forwarded by attorney Avigdor Feldman of the Association for Civil Rights, says that the adopted children, who were converted to Judaism, received an identifiable ID number.



Yehudit Karp (Ackerman)

Feldman argues that this violates adoption laws, which say that no information indicating that a child is adopted should be made publicly available.

Deri has consistently claimed that the "20" prefix is given to thousands of children born abroad, and not only to adopted children from Brazil.

"If we change the '20' prefix on the ID documents of children from Brazil and adopted children, the children will suffer because this will in fact show they are different," Deri said in Safad last night in response to the deputy attorney-general's letter. "There are 15,000 children carrying the prefix on their cards, and only 160 of them are from Brazil."

Deri added that, instead of changing all the prefixes, he would consult parents of adopted children individually and follow their personal request in each case.

He later denied that he had refused to implement Karp's demand, and said he was consulting the ministry's attorneys and would do as they recommended.

Citizens Rights Movement MK Dedi Zuker and Likud MK Miriam Ta'asa-Glazer yesterday demanded that Deri be fired immediately because he had refused to accept Karp's decision.

Youth favour Eban, Netanyahu

Jerusalem Post Reporter

UN Ambassador Binyamin Netanyahu and Knesset Foreign Affairs Committee chairman Abba Eban are considered the major parties' most promising leaders among young people who will be voting for the first time in the next Knesset elections.

According to a poll taken by Neil Sahar, head of the Youth Parliament of Israel, 71 per cent of the 18-year-old vote wants Eban to head the Labour list, while 66 per cent want Netanyahu to lead the Likud.

Eban was selected by 82 per cent as the country's most

respected political leader.

Foreign Minister Peres received the support of only 21 per cent, while some 32 per cent said he did a good job as prime minister.

Only 19 per cent felt the country was served well by the national unity government.

Some 46 per cent of those polled felt they could not vote for any of the existing parties. The poll was conducted among 604 people in the week ending June 19.

Dereliction of duty

Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. - IDF soldiers assigned to guard a security installation in the West Bank reportedly abandoned their post, and their officers only learned about it after several days. It then took the IDF several more days to send new guards.

This was disclosed after the publication of the Staff Comptroller's report, which criticized the lack of discipline in the army. OC Central Command has appointed an officer to investigate the matter.

Soldier slightly hurt in security zone

By DAVID RUDGE

Jerusalem Post Reporter
ROSH HANIKRA. - An IDF soldier was "very lightly" wounded when his patrol was fired at along the northern border of the security zone in South Lebanon after Wednesday midnight, the army spokesman reported yesterday.

The soldier was transferred to a hospital in Israel for further treatment.

According to reports from Lebanon, two of the attackers were wounded.

On the eleventh anniversary of the death of Sgan-Aluf

YONATAN NETANYAHU

who fell in Operation Yonatan a memorial service will be held at Mt. Herzl Cemetery, Jerusalem on Sunday, July 5, at 5:30 p.m.

Speaker: MEIR SHAMGAR
President of the Supreme Court
Buses will leave from the Mann Auditorium, Tel Aviv for Mt. Herzl at 4:00 p.m.

Yoni's Friends and Family

Shaare Zedek Medical Center in Jerusalem and the Shaare Zedek World Family extend condolences to the family of

JOSHUA J. SCHAPIRO

Founder of Shaare Zedek Medical Center
Honorary Co-Chairman of American Committee
Innovator and Chairman of Shaare Zedek New York annual concerts lovingly known as "Mr. Shaare Zedek." His wise counsel and active participation will be sorely missed.

In sorrow, we announce the passing of

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Rene Hyman, Hove, England
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Israel Friends Association of Tel Aviv University deeply mourn the death of

Dr. GEORGE S. WISE

a man of vision and initiative
one of the founders of Tel Aviv University
and offer condolences to Mrs. FLORENCE WISE and the family

Moshe Shamir
President
The Directorate of the Association and all Friends of the University in Israel

Tel Aviv-Yafo deeply mourns the death of

GEORGE WISE

an honorary citizen of the city
a deeply convinced and devoted Zionist
one of the initiators and founders of Tel Aviv University, and its first president
a man of manifold activities.

Shlomo Lahat
Mayor, Tel Aviv-Yafo

GEORGE

has left me forever.

Florence Wise

Tel Aviv University mourns the passing of

Dr. GEORGE S. WISE

First President and Chancellor of the University
Visionary and Builder

The Board of Governors, the Executive Council, the Senate, the Academic and Administrative staffs and the student body share the grief of his widow Mrs. FLORENCE WISE, and of the family.

The funeral will take place in New York.

Barbie verdict is due today

By MICHEL ZLOTOWSKI
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LYON. — The trial of Klaus Barbie, the former chief of the Gestapo in Lyon, is expected to be over today, when the nine members of the popular jury will have Judge Andre Cerdini read the verdict to the "Butcher of Lyon." Barbie's lawyer Jacques Verges said his client would come to the dock to hear the court's decision.

Whatever the verdict, Barbie will probably have to stand another trial for his responsibility in the arrest, torture and deportation of two men caught together with Jean Moulin, the leader sent by General De Gaulle from London to unify the Resistance inside occupied France.

A procedure was started this week by an instructing judge of Lyon. Moulin and other members of the Resistance were arrested in Caluire, near Lyon, in June 1943 by Barbie and his men. Moulin died a few days later, probably from the wounds inflicted by his torturers.

The Moulin issue is still hotly debated in France, 44 years later. The only person alive who knows for sure who did betray Moulin is Barbie himself. His revelations, if he will agree to talk and tell the truth, could put an end to the ongoing speculations about an alleged treason of one leader of the Resistance, Rene Hardy, who died just a few months ago.

All allusions to the Moulin case were carefully blocked out by Judge Cerdini, as irrelevant to the matter being judged by the Lyon Court of Assizes.

Barbie's counsels, Jacques Verges, Martin M'Bemba from Congo and Nabil Bouaita from Algeria, began to plead on Wednesday.

Verges started with a short tribute to the Resistance, only to stress that the African peoples were the first

to be engaged in that fight. (The French front-line troops in WWII counted many battalions from then French Black Africa and North Africa.)

"We bow our heads in front of the martyrs of the children of Izien, because we mourn the Algerian children (killed by the French)," went on Verges.

The avowed aim of Barbie's counsel was to extend the notion of crimes against humanity to all the massacres perpetrated by "French colonialism" in Africa and elsewhere.

A violent incident occurred when Barbie's third lawyer Bouaita started to speak about the Palestinian people. Allegedly quoting books written by Israelis, Bouaita compared "massacred Beirut" to the village of Oradour-sur-Glane, where the retreating SS division "Das Reich" exterminated the whole population by setting afire the church in which some 300 villagers had been locked.

Bouaita went on "denouncing the attitude of the Israeli torturers vis-a-vis the Palestinian people" and the complicity of Israel in the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

A lawyer for the civil plaintiffs, in an unprecedented move, interrupted the defence: "It is unbearable," said lawyer Michel Zaoui, "that (...) Israel is being declared as guilty as the Nazis (...)." In the following turmoil, the judge called for a recess.

In a crowded, overheated court, Jacques Verges yesterday afternoon resumed Barbie's defence.

Verges complained that for the last four years, the press, the radio and TV had harassed his client.

Verges is to end his defence at noon today.



Klaus Barbie's lawyers Nabil Bouaita of Algeria (L) and Martin M'Bemba of Brazzaville, Congo, talk to journalists outside the Lyon Court of Justice. (AFP telephoto)

Anglo-Jewish businessman aids arthritics in legal battle

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — A top Anglo-Jewish businessman has come to the rescue of hundreds of people suing the manufacturers of the anti-arthritis drug Opren, putting up £2 million of his own money to guarantee their legal costs.

Property developer Godfrey Bradman — who also helped organize the campaign on an El Al plane that raised \$45,000 for Israeli girl Moran Kadosh's liver transplant operation here — has made the cash available to the 500 of the 1,500 Opren claimants who are not legally aided.

These 500 people, claiming compensation from Opren manufacturers Eli Lilly, would have been forced to withdraw their legal action because of the risk of having to pay high legal costs if their case failed.

The anti-arthritis drug was withdrawn from sale in 1982 after it was

linked with 74 deaths and almost 4,000 cases of illness, including kidney and liver failure.

Manufacturers Eli Lilly are fighting the 1,500 claimants' action for compensation, saying that they will not even consider compensation for the "vast majority" of the claimants because they suffered side effects from Opren which the manufacturers had warned about.

Bradman's generosity will enable the claimants to pursue their case through what is likely to be a lengthy court battle.

The 50-year-old property developer had wanted to remain anonymous, but he was forced to disclose his identity to the court hearing the Opren case.

Bradman has supported a wide range of campaigning organizations in the past, including the Friends of the Earth group, and the campaign for the removal of lead from petrol.

Bomb blast near Syrian Hq. in Beirut

BEIRUT (Reuters). — A car bomb blew out the windows of Syria's military headquarters in Moslem West Beirut yesterday in the third such attack on Syrian forces in the capital since February, security sources said.

The blast shattered most windows in the heavily-guarded headquarters and in buildings and cars up to 500 metres away, but the sources reported no casualties.

In related developments, Lebanon's pro-Iranian Hizbullah (Party of God) militia said it would hit at U.S. interests if the U.S. attacked Iran in the Gulf.

"American military intervention in the Gulf would be a serious aggression aimed against not only Iran but all the Moslems," Hizbullah said in a statement.

The U.S. plans to give U.S. naval protection this month to 11 Kuwaiti tankers flying the American flag following repeated Iranian attacks on Kuwaiti shipping.

U.S. experts have found between 10 and 12 mines they believe were laid by Iraq in Gulf waters leading to Kuwaiti harbours.

The team of 18 experts sent to Kuwait reported that markings on the mines indicated they were put there by Iran, said a Pentagon source.

PERON. — The hands of former president Gen. Juan Peron's body were severed by robbers who broke into his tomb last weekend and opened his casket, a civil court judge said yesterday in Buenos Aires.

Soviets deny offer on arms control

MOSCOW (Reuters). — A Kremlin spokesman yesterday denied western media reports that Moscow had made a new arms control offer which could bring agreement to destroy all superpower medium-range missiles worldwide.

Referring to reports that Soviet Colonel-General Nikolai Chervov had made compromise proposals several weeks ago to Maynard Gittman, chief U.S. negotiator on medium-range arms at the Geneva talks, Foreign Ministry spokesman Boris Fyadyshev told reporters: "Chervov made no proposals. He is not authorized to do so. There was no understanding between them. There is none."

According to The New York Times, Moscow had offered to drop its plan to keep 100 medium-range missiles in Asia if such weapons were eliminated from Europe.

In return, the U.S. was to forgo any right to convert ground-launched cruise missiles in Europe into sea-launched weapons and agree not to turn medium-range Pershing-2s in Europe into shorter-range Pershing-1Bs, which could be handed over to West Germany.

Fyadyshev said that far from agreement being nearer, the U.S.-Soviet arms talks in Geneva were in fact moving more slowly because the American side kept putting forward new proposals which complicated the situation.

The possibility of a meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in Washington was being considered, he said, but added:

"If there is no progress at the negotiations, why should the Soviet minister go to Washington?"

Edward Rowley, senior arms control adviser to President Reagan, said last month that Shultz and Shevardnadze had agreed to meet in Washington in mid-July to clear up sticking points on arms control and lay the ground for a new superpower summit later this year.

Asked whether Moscow saw no value in a meeting between Shultz and Shevardnadze as a way to break the impasse at Geneva, Fyadyshev said: "I could nearly agree with that."

The main work should be done first in Geneva, where the Soviet Union was showing "massive goodwill," before the ministers met to put the "finishing strokes to an agreement which could lead to a new summit," he said.

U.S. Senator Richard Lugar said Wednesday that American negotiators were optimistic as a result of the proposal.

FOREIGN BRIEFS

Reagan names conservative to Supreme Court

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — President Reagan, seizing a historic opportunity to tilt the Supreme Court to the right, has nominated staunchly conservative judge Robert Bork to be an associate justice of America's highest judicial body.

His selection of Bork to fill a vacancy created by the retirement of Justice Lewis Powell is expected to trigger a fierce political battle since it requires confirmation by the Democratic-led Senate.

Bork, now an appeals court judge, is best known for his controversial role in sacking the special prosecutor in the 1973-74 Watergate scandal. He has been critical of a number of Supreme Court decisions repugnant to conservatives, including one legalizing abortion.

Union Carbide knows who caused Bhopal leak

BOMBAY (Reuters). — Union Carbide says it knows the identity of a worker who caused the world's worst industrial accident — the gas leak at its Bhopal plant that killed 2,352 people.

"We will disclose his name at the appropriate time before the court," Robert Berzok, the U.S. company's director of corporate communications, told reporters last night.

Berzok claims an act of sabotage by the disgruntled worker caused the leak from the pesticide plant on December 3, 1984. In addition to the deaths, 200,000 people were injured.

'Jane's': U.S., Israel hold anti-sub exercises

LONDON. — Units of the Israeli and U.S. navies have completed joint anti-submarine exercises in the Mediterranean, according to sources quoted in the latest issue of Jane's Defence Weekly.

The magazine also reported that Israel has offered its Barak shipboard defence missile to the U.S., following the Iraqi fighter attack on the USS Stark.

A Barak missile would have prevented the Iraqi Exocet missile from striking the Stark, according to Israeli claims.

Jane's reported that Israel Aircraft Industries has tried previously to sell the sea-skimming Barak missile to the U.S. without success.

Nazi war criminal Linas dies in Soviet Union

MOSCOW (AFP). — Nazi war criminal Karl Linas, extradited in April from the U.S. to the Soviet Union, died yesterday following a "serious illness" that required two operations, the Soviet Supreme Court said.

He had been transferred recently from a prison in the Baltic Soviet republic of Estonia to Leningrad, where he was hospitalized.

The court's statement, issued by Tass, said that after his arrival in the Soviet Union, it was found that Linas, 67, had a serious disease.

American doctors who examined him on April 20, before his extradition, diagnosed a gastro-duodenal ulcer.

He was sentenced to death in absentia by the Soviet Union in 1962, accused of having directed a concentration camp at Tartu (Estonia) from 1941 to 1943.

'A Chorus Line' director dies from Aids

NEW YORK (Reuters). — Michael Bennett, the award winning director and choreographer responsible for a number of Broadway musicals, including the smash-hits A Chorus Line and Dreamgirls, died yesterday from an Aids related disease, his lawyer said.

John Breglio said Bennett, 44, died from lymphoma, a form of cancer. He said Bennett had been diagnosed as having Aids 18 months ago.

Bennett, who won eight Tony awards — the Broadway equivalent of the Oscars — for his work, was credited with breathing new life into the New York stage at a time when it was dying.

11-year-old flies plane across U.S.

WASHINGTON (AP). — Eleven-year-old John Kevin Hill, of Arlington, Texas, yesterday became the youngest known pilot to fly across the U.S.

Accompanied by his flight instructor, a reporter and a photographer, he began his trip in Los Angeles on June 24 and stopped in various cities along the way before arriving at Washington National Airport. "I'm glad to be back on solid ground," he told reporters.

18 bodies found in sealed train wagon

DALLAS (Reuters). — The bodies of at least 18 people believed to be illegal aliens from Mexico were found in a sealed goods train wagon yesterday in a sweltering West Texas border town, according to local radio reports.

One person in the wagon was reported still alive.

Nigerian military council to quit in 1992

LAGOS (Reuters). — Nigeria's ruling military council will return power to elected civilians in 1992, President Ibrahim Babangida said.

Previously Babangida, who seized power in 1983, had pledged to restore civilian rule in 1990.

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Surprise visit in Seoul

SEOUL. — Ruling party leader Roh Tae Woo made a surprise visit to the main opposition's headquarters yesterday to urge a quick, mutually agreeable decision on a new constitution.

Bewildered faces greeted the chairman of the Democratic Justice Party (DJP) when he appeared, unannounced and uninvited at the office of the Reunification Democratic Party (RDP) led by Kim Young Sam.

RDP officials said it was probably the first time a head of the ruling party had visited the opposition party since 1980, when President Chun Doo Hwan took power after a military coup.

Roh, following up his bombshell announcement last Monday embracing numerous opposition demands including free presidential elections this year, asked Kim during their brief encounter to open talks soon on setting guidelines for a new electoral system.

Roh's proposals ended more than two weeks of violent street protests by demonstrators demanding an end to Chun's authoritarian rule and free elections. Wednesday, Chun fully endorsed Roh's advice for a wide-ranging blueprint for democracy.

In still another surprising DJP move, party officials said they were considering ways to erase the scars that remain from the bloody military suppression of a civilian uprising in the city of Kwangju seven years ago.

The DJP officials earlier said that a party committee would look into paying compensation to relatives of those who died in the Kwangju revolt.

The official death toll is 193, but dissidents in the city said recently the real figure was at least five times higher.

Meanwhile, a police spokesman said that RDP member Noh Kyong Ku was released from Seoul prison yesterday. The spokesman said there were no further releases of anti-government detainees.

Justice Ministry sources said the government was screening some 2,000 people, including those who had been arrested or deprived of their civil rights for anti-government activities during late president Park Chung Hee's rule, for possible amnesty.



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A roomful of discontented souls

By ANDY COURT
For The Jerusalem Post

It's been "raining" in Erwin Miller's apartment for three days. Miller's upstairs neighbour, it seems, went to the U.S. and a pipe burst in the locked apartment.

"You call the fire department and they tell you to call the water department," said Miller, 52, of Jerusalem's Mahane Yehuda neighbourhood. "You call the water department and they tell you to call the police."

And so Miller arrived at Room 9 at Jerusalem Police Headquarters in the Russian Compound. Room 9 is where people from all over the sprawling capital come to wait to complain.

In a country with an already high percentage of frustration per capita, Room 9 has an especially dense concentration of discontented souls. Here people sometimes complain of waiting two or three hours to report a theft, or a similar problem.

Although there are 11 police stations in different parts of the city, these offices are open only limited hours and people are generally told to go to the Russian Compound, where the investigators' offices are located.

"Every time that the city and the Housing Ministry plan a new neighbourhood, they plan a mother and child clinic, a Kupat Holim dispensary, and a post office, but never a police station," said police chief



Yosef Yehuda'i. For a year, Yehuda'i said, the department couldn't even find office space for the policemen who patrol the Ramat area.

Yehuda'i maintained that people who complain of waiting for hours are usually exaggerating, and that the average wait is about 15 minutes, though there are times, he admits, when the number of plaintiffs suddenly increases.

There are now local stations in Neveh Ya'acov, Gilo, Mevasseret Yerushalayim, the central bus station, Mahane Yehuda, and several other locations, but they are not always open and cannot handle every problem.

Miller, for example, lives around the corner from the Mahane Yehuda station, but was told to go downtown because the local office "did not handle rain falling in people's apartments."

At Room 9, Miller was at first told that the police couldn't help him; then he was told to sit and wait.

He had been waiting about 40 minutes by the time he finished telling his story to *The Jerusalem Post*. Next to him was a woman from Katamon who said she had been waiting about an hour.

On the wall of Room 9 a sign explained: "The policeman may be busy. Try to understand!" On the floor of Miller's apartment one kilometre away the buckets kept filling with water.

Hebrew U. benefactor George Wise

Dr. George Wise, sociologist, educator and financial wizard, was a self-made man who will be remembered for his generous support of Israeli higher education. He was chairman of the board of directors of the Hebrew University when it moved into its new campus at Givat Ram in June 1954, and was the chief founder and promoter of Tel Aviv University.

He was born on April 7, 1906, in Pinsk, Poland, to Noah and Chaya Rabinowitz-Schneiders, and he left for the U.S. when he was 20. He hoped to become a physician, but could not combine earning a living and supporting his parents with attending medical school. So he opted for sociology instead.

Wise graduated from Furman University in 1928 and from Columbia in 1930. He combined a sharp business mind with a love of learning, attending to his business interests by day and studying at night. Wise earned his PhD in 1930, at the age of 24, when he was already chairman of numerous financial enterprises.

During 1944-46, while establishing a newsprint industry in Mexico, Wise initiated a government literacy drive there and was decorated with the *Aguila Azteca* (the Aztec Eagle) by the government.



Dr. George Wise

Wise was a life-long supporter of the Hebrew University, and chairman of its board of directors from 1953 to 1962. He was instrumental in setting up the Givat Ram campus when Mount Scopus was cut off from Jewish Jerusalem after the War of Independence.

Wise became president of Tel Aviv University in 1963, when it had two faculties, 1,200 students, 150 teachers, and a temporary campus on the outskirts of Jaffa. Wise immediately launched a massive development and building programme and, when he retired from the presidency eight years later, the university comprised eight faculties, a student body of 12,000 and a teaching staff of more than 1,000. The new campus in Ramat Aviv contained 26 completed buildings, with five more under construction.

Wise became university chancellor in 1971. In addition to his scholarly activities, he increased his contributions to the United Jewish Appeal, Israel Bonds, the Israel Corporation and numerous other Israeli and foreign social and civic organizations. He headed the American-Israel Chamber of Commerce and American-Israeli Friendship League, and was involved in establishing the Clal conglomerate, the American-Israeli Paper Mills, and the American Development Corporation.

He was the author of several books and studies, the last of which, written together with Salo W. Baron, *Violence and Defence in Jewish Experience*, was published in 1978.

His personal contributions to Israeli institutions, to Tel Aviv University, and to the George Wise observatory at Mitze Ramon, ran into millions of dollars. But perhaps his greatest contribution was his uncanny ability to mobilize world Jewry in support of Israel.

CARL ARTHUR URGENT

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Israel Communist Party General-Secretary Meir Wilner (left) is greeted by Deng Liqun, the general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, on Wednesday in Beijing. China announced yesterday that it had normalized relations with Wilner's party, but insisted that diplomatic ties with Jerusalem were out of the question. Wilner's visit was the first by an Israeli Communist Party leader in 30 years. (Reuters)

A first for Arab students at HU

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

REHOVOT. — For the first time, M.Sc. degrees have been awarded to three Arab students from the territories studying at the Hebrew University's faculty of agriculture. At the graduation ceremony here, Prof. Ilan Heth, dean of the faculty, expressed the hope that more students from the territories would follow now that the ice had been broken.

All three had studied for their B.Sc. degrees in Egyptian universities and were enrolled for their postgraduate studies through the initiative of Yoreh Artzi, the staff officer for agriculture in the Civil Administration.

Of the three, Wahid Kefeshia is from Hebron; the other two, Muhammed El Hamalawe and Muhammed Abdul Rahman, who were awarded their degrees with distinction, come from Gaza.

All specialised in plant protection and are senior officials in the agriculture department in the areas. Their trail blazing studies were described as "a remarkable success, despite initial doubts by a faculty spokesperson yesterday."

Their lack of Hebrew knowledge had been the biggest stumbling block, she told *The Jerusalem Post* but funds were provided for a Hebrew language instructor, who helped them through their first year.

Even so, it only took six months

longer than usual — two-and-a-half years in all — for them to complete their studies.

A fourth postgraduate student from Nabulus, is now completing his own work for the M.Sc. in olive and vine cultivation. Two more, from Hebron and Ramallah have enrolled for the degree.

Altogether 296 faculty graduates received their B.Sc. degrees at the ceremony and 74 their M.Sc. degrees. The latter included Sang Young Chun from South Korea, who was awarded his degree, *cum laude* in animal husbandry. The faculty has several students from south-east Asia.

Prof. Heth announced that starting next school year, students will no longer have to do their first year of general studies at the Jerusalem campus of the Hebrew University, but will complete the three-year course in Rehovot.

Guest speaker at the ceremony, writer Yoram Kaniuk, dwelt on the development of a new "Israeli Culture" (which is not identical with Jewish culture) that embraces Jews and Arabs, religious and secular and is being spread through the media, literature and the theatre. He noted the tendency of Israelis to criticize themselves, and quoted the Egyptian journalist Amis Mansour: "If you give the Jews paradise, they'll paint its walls with pictures of hell."

Militant mood grows among Arab moderates

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

SHFARAM. — A week after their one-day general strike, Israeli Arabs seem set to intensify their campaign for equal rights and against the government's "discriminatory policies."

Organizers of the strike yesterday expressed frustration over the lack of response to their demands.

"All we have heard in answer to our requests is the sound of silence," declared a member of the national strike committee.

He warned there was a growing mood of militancy among even moderate Arab leaders, with demands being made for more drastic measures to force the government to "sit up and take notice."

The committee will be asked to approve a series of protest actions, including keeping schools closed when the new term begins in September, shutting down all 46 local authorities for an indefinite period, and staging another general strike for a week or more.

"I expect some tough decisions to

be taken at the meeting if there has been no positive reaction from the government by then," said Shfaram Mayor Ibrahim Nimr Hussein.

Hussein, head of the strike committee and chairman of the national council of Arab local councils, last week called for a meeting between Arab leaders and government ministers to thrash out the problems of the Arab sector and agree on a five-year programme to gradually erase discrimination.

The Arab heads have complained about inequality in local authority budgets, health services, housing, education and general development programmes.

Hussein said he extended his invitation to the ministers through the auspices of Amos Gilboa, adviser to Moshe Arens, the minister responsible for Arab affairs. "So far there has been no response, either to my suggestion or as a result of the general strike," he said.

Members of the strike committee are to meet in Shfaram tomorrow to decide on the next course of action.

To Arie Dulzin

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NOTICE TO AMERICAN CITIZENS

Due to the heavy demand on our very limited resources, the American Consulate General in Jerusalem will, unfortunately, no longer be able to provide passport and birth registration services to individuals residing outside the Jerusalem Municipality and the West Bank. While we regret any inconvenience caused by this decision, we believe that it will enable us to serve the many thousands of American citizens in the Jerusalem Consular District in a more efficient manner. American citizens having questions on this or any other consular matter are advised to contact the American Citizens Services Section of the American Consulate General at 02-334271.

Shipmates gather for Aliya Bet reunion

THEY WERE 230 youthful, self-confident Americans recruited from the Merchant Marine, the Air Force, or even their college dorms. Some of them knew sailing, some of them lied and said they did. They were the crew-members of 10 U.S.-launched ships that took part in the "Aliya Bet" illegal immigrations of 1946-48 bringing thousands of European Jews to Palestine.

Many of the group last saw each other in the British internment camps of Adit and Cyprus — until 110 of them, now living in the U.S. and in Israel, gathered here last week for an 11-day reunion.

"Forty years ago, you had so many challenges to meet every moment on those crowded and dangerous boats, you could hardly see yourselves as figures altering history. But you were," said President Chaim Herzog, who hosted the crew members on Wednesday at his residence in Jerusalem.

For the former shipmates, the reunion has been a time to re-live their venture; to rediscover lost buddies, tell stories of romances with refugees that blossomed into marriage; and to set the historical record straight — or at least argue about it. "They said there were 999 people on the ship Hagana. But I don't believe it. It was so crowded. It had to be 1,500," declared Bernie Marx, former first mate on the ship and now a retired businessman in Cincinnati.

For many of the Americans, it is the first time they will meet the Aliya Bet leaders whose orders they followed obediently; and the first time they will visit the Adit prison near Haifa since they disembarked from their ships and were interned there, either to be deported or finally settled legally in Palestine.

Over 55 of the crew members are still in Israel. Kibbutz Hatzor boasts six of them, and they have kept in touch with others around the country. But some men, like one former sailor remembered only by his Yiddish nickname Der Punim (the Face), appeared out of the blue just last week.



"Nobody could remember what Der Punim's real name was," said Murray Greenfield of Tel Aviv, who spent two years tracking down fellow crew members for the reunion. "Then he showed up the first day we were together in Haifa. He had read about the reunion in the American Jewish papers. We said, 'That's him! What's your real name?'"

It was Al Nemoff.

THE ENTRY of the American volunteers into the illegal immigrant operation gave Aliya Bet the publicity boost it needed to effectively protest the British restrictions on Jewish immigration, contends Greenfield, former director of the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel.

"Until we got into it, they had to rely on small ships, unreliable European crews. When the Americans came, volunteers with big ships, we made the noise. And on just 10 ships we brought nearly half of the 70,000 refugees who came on Aliya Bet between the end of World War II and the founding of the state."

For Mike Perlstein, a volunteer on the ship Hatikva, this trip to Israel

was the first since the Aliya Bet operation.

And it was the first time in decades that Augustine (Duke) Labaczewski had seen Perlstein, his boyhood friend.

Perlstein recruited Labaczewski for Aliya Bet in 1947, although Labaczewski wasn't even Jewish. "Mikey said, 'I'm going to Europe to bring my people home to Israel,'" recalls Labaczewski, who at that time had just come home to Philadelphia on leave from the Merchant Marine.

"I told him you got the right guy, Mikey. So Mikey said we're going to be leaving in one or two days. I went home and saw my mother and I told her I was going with Mikey to bring his people to Palestine."

Labaczewski became a seaman and the ship's baker on an old U.S. coastguard cutter renamed Hatikva and crammed with 1,414 refugees "packed like sardines."

After the ship was intercepted by the British, he and Perlstein spent several months interned in Cyprus before making their way to Palestine aboard the *Empire* — which he helped blow up in Haifa Port on Hagana orders.

He was then interned at Adit, worked at Kibbutz Keshet, and trained as a Palmach commando and a frogman before being sent back to the U.S. — to fund-raise for the new state.

Over the years, Labaczewski, a lifelong marine, lost touch with Perlstein and the rest of his former shipmates.

"But we're not going to lose touch again," he declared.

SEVERAL CREW members were recruited through another unusual channel — the articles by Ruth Gruber in the *New York Herald Tribune*.

Sid Abrams was a university student in Seattle when, fired by Gruber's reports on the plight of the European Jewish refugees, he signed up for Aliya Bet, and wound up on the ship Geula.

"I'd had a small sailboat," said Abrams, now a West Coast wine dealer. "I told them I was a master of sailboats. That was very impressive to them. Most of us were very inexperienced. And the handful who were experienced said we made the ships more dangerous."

Adrian Phillips, a Merchant Marine officer and mechanical engineer, tried for nearly two years to join the Aliya Bet operation — until in late 1946 he met Gruber appearing with a "Palestinian girl" at a New York meeting on the refugees.

"I said, 'Look, I'm burning up. I want to help.' Ruth looked at this girl, and the girl said, 'You will hear from us.' And sure enough, within 48 hours I did," recalls Phillips, who was 27 at the time.

Phillips ultimately spent months in Adit prison, as one of the three *Empire* crew members detained without being formally charged by the Mandatory authorities, for blowing up the ship. He hopes to re-establish contact with some of the refugees he was interned with there, and also in Cyprus, at a reunion of former crew members and passengers at Ha'aretz Museum in Tel Aviv on Sunday.

RUTH GRUBER has also come to the reunion from her New York home, bearing copies of the books she has written on the Aliya Bet operation and the founding of the state.

Gruber covered the plight of the ill-fated *Exodus* for the *New York Herald Tribune* — first from Haifa, then from Port de Bouc, France, where the *Exodus* passengers were subsequently shipped aboard three British prison ships.

On several occasions in Port de Bouc, she was smuggled aboard the ships disguised as a nurse. And just before the *Exodus* refugees were to be shipped to Germany, she boarded one of the transit ships officially, and snapped a picture that became a classic symbol of the refugees' "blind agony" — a swastika the ship's passengers had painted across the Union Jack.

The World Family of United Israel Appeal-Keren Hayesod records with profound sorrow the passing in Melbourne, Australia of FAYGEL KAPPEL

beloved mother of Mrs. Max Shnider
Shiva will be observed until Wednesday morning, July 8 at the Shnider residence
Kiryat Wolfson, 11 Diskin Street, Apt. 32, 8th Floor Jerusalem

We express our heartfelt condolences to Leida, Max and the entire family.
May they be spared further sorrow for many years to come.

LORRAINE GLASSENBERG

will take place at Har Hamenuhot cemetery, Jerusalem (block 90, plot 7) on Wednesday, July 8, 1987.
We shall meet at the cemetery entrance at 5:15 p.m.
Memorial service at 5:30 p.m.

The Family

With deep regret, we announce the death of

Rabbi

Dr. AARON GREENBAUM

The funeral will take place today, Friday, leaving at 11 a.m. from the Yeshurun Central Synagogue, Jerusalem, for Har Hamenuhot.

The Family

Shiva at 14 Ibn Ezra St., Rehavia, Jerusalem.

American Joint Distribution Committee
J.D.C. — Yeshivot

deeply mourn the death of

Rabbi

Dr. AARON GREENBAUM

Stanley (Yehoshua) Abramovitch,
Director
and the Staff

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
deeply mourns the passing of

JOSEPH JACKIER

of Detroit

An honorary fellow of the University
and expresses its condolences to the family.

Racism in suburbia

Jonathan Karp visits the Jewish neighbourhoods which have been the scene of recent attacks on Arabs and finds that much communal goodwill exists in the midst of conflict

LAST WEEK it was Ramat Amidar. This week it was just a few kilometres away, in Ganei Tikva and Ganei Yehuda.

Certainly, Jewish-Arab violence was not invented in any of these communities, but the successive attacks on Arab residents of Jewish neighbourhoods have the police concerned about further confrontations. While the police have arrested 11 of the 15 people suspected of beating up three Arabs in Ramat Amidar, and three of the Ganei Yehuda assailants, they seem to have been working just as hard to prevent the events snowballing into a political issue.

Kach MK Meir Kahane was the first to try to make political capital out of Ramat Amidar with a proposed visit to the neighbourhood last week as a show of support. The police turned him away before he entered, as they had to do again on Wednesday night.

The police also staged off Citizens Rights Movement MK Yossi Sarid last Friday, after threats that he would not leave Ramat Amidar alive.

Neither have Peace Now nor Hashomer Hatza'ir been any more successful in their efforts to publicize the overall threat to society raised by the recent events. The police set up barriers on Wednesday to halt a procession equivalent to 20 bus loads of Hashomer, Hatza'ir youths who wanted to demonstrate in Ganei Tikva. Peace Now, meanwhile, was turned back from Ramat Amidar along with Kahane.

The two communities, which are similar in some ways, have also expressed their desire to keep politics out. At times their pleas seemed like attempts to ignore the root of the violence.

"I'M AFRAID," said a woman who lives in Ganei Tikva, not far from the apartment rented by four Arabs from the Galilee village of Dabburiya. Unlike the residents of Ramat Amidar, who listed several complaints against their Arab neighbours following the beating and first arson, the woman said she had nothing against her four neighbours.

Nevertheless, she was afraid that the Arabs might be a threat to what she considered to be a pleasant and successful community. "Families live here," she stressed. "Good families with children."

The woman had fond memories of the family which had lived in the apartment at 3 Rehov Ze'ev for 10 years prior to it being taken over by the current tenants. They too were

Arabs, from Kafr Kasim.

Another neighbour, Eliezer Schwartz, who lived next door, said they were a fine family, noting with approval that Yehuda and Nadia Mahmud had given Hebrew names to two of their four daughters: Ilana, Anat, Hana and Ahlam. The children attended school in Ganei Tikva, celebrating the Jewish holidays along with the rest of the pupils, Schwartz said.

When Mahmud decided to move back to Kafr Kasim last year to find a bigger house and give his daughters a traditional education, said Schwartz, the family left on good terms with its neighbours. Schwartz sees Mahmud, a gardener for the Kiryat Ono municipality, every now and then.

At least one of the four young men who moved into the apartment vacated by the Mahmud family was Yehuda's cousin. There had been no problems, Schwartz said, until earlier this week when he woke up in the middle of the night to the sounds of screams next door.

The woman said that some residents had been against more Arabs moving in to replace Yehuda and his family, but that any opposition had ceased after a while. Neither she nor Schwartz, however, seemed startled when they learned that the first suspect to be arrested was a Ganei Tikva resident.

The two other suspects so far are also from Ganei Tikva. The four Arabs, Ahmed Nagir, Kareem Samoni - and Bader and Ahmed Katil - worked for a Jewish farmer named Eli Rabina in Ganei Yehuda. Rabina, himself, was attacked for hiring the workers - he was the only one who needed medical treatment.

The Arabs, like those in Ramat Amidar, left their apartment after the attack; unlike those in Ramat Amidar, who returned to their towns or villages, they sought refuge in Rabina's home. Many Ramat Amidar residents said that they resented those Jews who had "accommodated" the Arabs in the neighbourhood. They considered that, as a result of the two arsons, landlords would "think a thousand times" before renting an apartment to an Arab.

ALTHOUGH NEIGHBOURS reportedly saw the Ramat Amidar attack, the police have no eyewitnesses. Even though people in that part of the neighbourhood live in close quarters with each other, no one seemed to know what had happened in the building next to them. People were either asleep or not at home at the time of the arson attacks. One



Ramat Amidar... After the arson.

(Andre Brummann)

woman said she couldn't hear any one outside since she was watching television.

As well as Schwartz, another Ganei Tikva resident said he heard screams the night before the attack. The night that the assailants turned up at the Arab's apartment after midnight and threatened them.

"I got out of bed, went outside and saw two police cars next door and then I went back to sleep," he recalled. "It doesn't interest me. If there's a problem, there's the police and there's the local council to take care of it."

The man said that he did not mind the Arabs living in Ganei Tikva - and even though they lived one house away, he did not feel their presence. "I don't really have any contact with them," he said.

As in Ramat Amidar, the Ganei Tikva residents' frame of reference seems to be limited to the street where they live. When asked if they had any idea who the suspect from Ganei Tikva was, they said no one on Rehov Ze'ev came to mind.

The difference between the two cases is that some of the Ramat Amidar residents gave the clear impression that they knew who was involved, but would not give any names, while those in Ganei Tikva seemed genuinely, if naively, ignorant.

ONE OF THE most noticeable differences between Ramat Amidar and Ganei Tikva was the way in which residents reacted to the events in their own community. The former episode is considered much more serious, and has drawn much more attention. Perhaps that attention put some residents, and especially neighbourhood leaders, on the defensive, for they sought to deny that the attacks had any racist intent.

They seemed to think that by showing that Kahane received very few votes in the last election, they could convince the public of the community's purity. One can believe the officials when they talk about Ramat Amidar's strides in education and culture, or when they praise the improvement in the suburb's quality of life.

But the fact that the violence was so great and took place over a couple of days raised serious doubts to claims that the events were "just a neighbourhood dispute."

The residents of Ganei Tikva are equally proud of their community, but they don't feel they are stigmatized the place if they admit that racism can be found there. And they do admit it.

Schwartz said that Kahane enjoys some support among Ganei Tikva's youth, and he said there are other forms of hatred, but it is not a serious problem. "In the 39 years I have lived here, there has been no tension, certainly nothing like what just happened," he said.

Other Ganei Tikva residents said that some extremist views occurred in any normal community. The uncle of the late David Manos - the soldier who disappeared while hitch-hiking in 1984 and whose remains were found near Tulkarm only in March 1986 - said that he felt "battered" toward Arabs as a result of the murder, but that it did not prevent him from interacting with them in day-to-day matters.

The Ramat Amidar affair has touched a deeper community nerve. After first resenting the press coverage of the beating and arson, many residents now resent the stated determination of the police to arrest all involved.

The residents have started contributing money to a fund to pay for the collective legal costs, and they are also trying to put pressure on the police to release some of the suspects who the residents say were not among the hooligans. They say that the police have been too zealous and have arrested innocent people.

Yair Nahum, 28, the most recent suspect to be arrested, is to be charged today by the police. One Ramat Amidar resident said he was sure that Nahum was elsewhere at the time of the beating. "Come down to the court house," he said. "It's going to be a big joke."

Yehuda Litani comments on the racial clashes

'Now it's everywhere'

FOR THE LAST 10 years, many non-religious Jerusalemites have left the city for the Tel Aviv area. When asked why, most of them answered that they had been "choked" by the religious Jews and the Arabs. That Jerusalem has become the battleground for fights between nationalist Jews and Palestinians. That Jerusalem has become more religious than ever. A dead city where cultural and night life are almost non-existent.

Tel Aviv, they say, offers one much more: theatre, movies, art, coffee-houses, restaurants, night-clubs, etc. In Tel Aviv, one is much freer of the political, religious and communal stresses of Jerusalem. Jerusalem, they say, is "too holy for us," while Tel Aviv is down to earth.

And so, while in Jerusalem and in the West Bank, there were clashes between Jews and Arabs (and between Jews and Jews), Tel Aviv for them is a kind of no-man's-land, an isolated island in the midst of hostility and hatred.

Last week's events in Ramat Amidar, one of Ramat Gan's neighbourhoods, were called by the police, a "pogrom." Israeli and West-Bank Arabs were beaten and thrown out of their windows. The furniture at their apartments was smashed and set on fire.

"We don't want Arabs living in our neighbourhood," some Ramat Amidar inhabitants told the press. "Let them live in their areas in the Galilee and the West Bank, where they belong, but not here. This is a Jewish neighbourhood. We won't stop until the last Arab gets out of here."

Some of the Ramat Amidar residents added typical racist remarks about the bad effect of the Arabs on their Jewish neighbourhoods, about them causing harm to their daughters, disturbing their sleep by drinking and shouting late at night, etc.

SO NOW it is everywhere. Not only in "holy" Jerusalem but in the hub of leisure life, to which the capital's "refugees" have fled for relief from the political and communal tensions. But, alas, the whole country has turned into one big Jerusalem, and we can no longer hide our heads in the sand and seek another refuge. There is no other Tel Aviv in Israel. The only refuge now is - abroad.

And since inter-communal strife is already evident in Tel Aviv, we foresee that internal religious tension will arise there too in a few years, changing that city's character as well.

In Northern Ireland, the majority in both communities, the Catholic and the Protestant, prefer to ignore what they call "the events."

A famous surgeon told me three years ago in Belfast: "As long as it does not happen to me or to my



A gas balloon was moved out of an apartment by the police in this building. It is suspected it was placed by arsonists. (Andre Brummann)

family I don't give a damn. We've learnt to live with it. We simply don't pay attention."

The same attitude prevails in Beirut. So many years of bloodshed has immunized the population, and made them almost indifferent to the violence and sorrow surrounding them.

Much the same was once true in Israel. Jews and Arabs used to look through each other in the streets of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa as if the other did not exist.

But the Jews can no longer afford to ignore the Arabs. As long as Arabs from the West Bank, the Galilee and the Triangle, worked during the day in Tel Aviv and returned home at night, it was quite comfortable. But in the last few years, many Arabs prefer to stay there at night instead of commuting to the refugee camps of the Gaza Strip and the Galilee villages.

Not to mention the Israeli Arabs at the Tel Aviv and Bar Ilan universities. These students have to live in the metropolitan area in order to complete their studies.

For the hoodlums in Ramat Amidar it makes no difference whether the Arabs living in their neighbourhood are Israeli or West-Bankers, or whether they are students or workers. For these thugs they are Arabs, foreigners, and they want to "clean" the area of them.

THE ISRAELI ARABS no longer feel any great difference between themselves and their brothers from the occupied territories. True, the former enjoy more rights than the latter, but both feel they are being discriminated against by the Jewish majority.

TWENTY YEARS AGO, the Israeli Arabs were regarded by the occupied territories' Palestinians as "Zionist Arabs," virtual traitors to the Arab cause. Now, after two decades of living together in the same state, the differences are less striking on both sides.

In a dual state, one cannot prevent the minority from seeking work and living quarters in the towns and villages of the majority - unless we are to become another South Africa, limiting the Arabs to restricted areas. But even now, after 20 years of Israeli rule in the occupied territories, most Israelis would like to enjoy two worlds: have the Arabs as manual workers, but living as far away as possible, beyond the old "Green Line" that no longer exists except in their imagination.

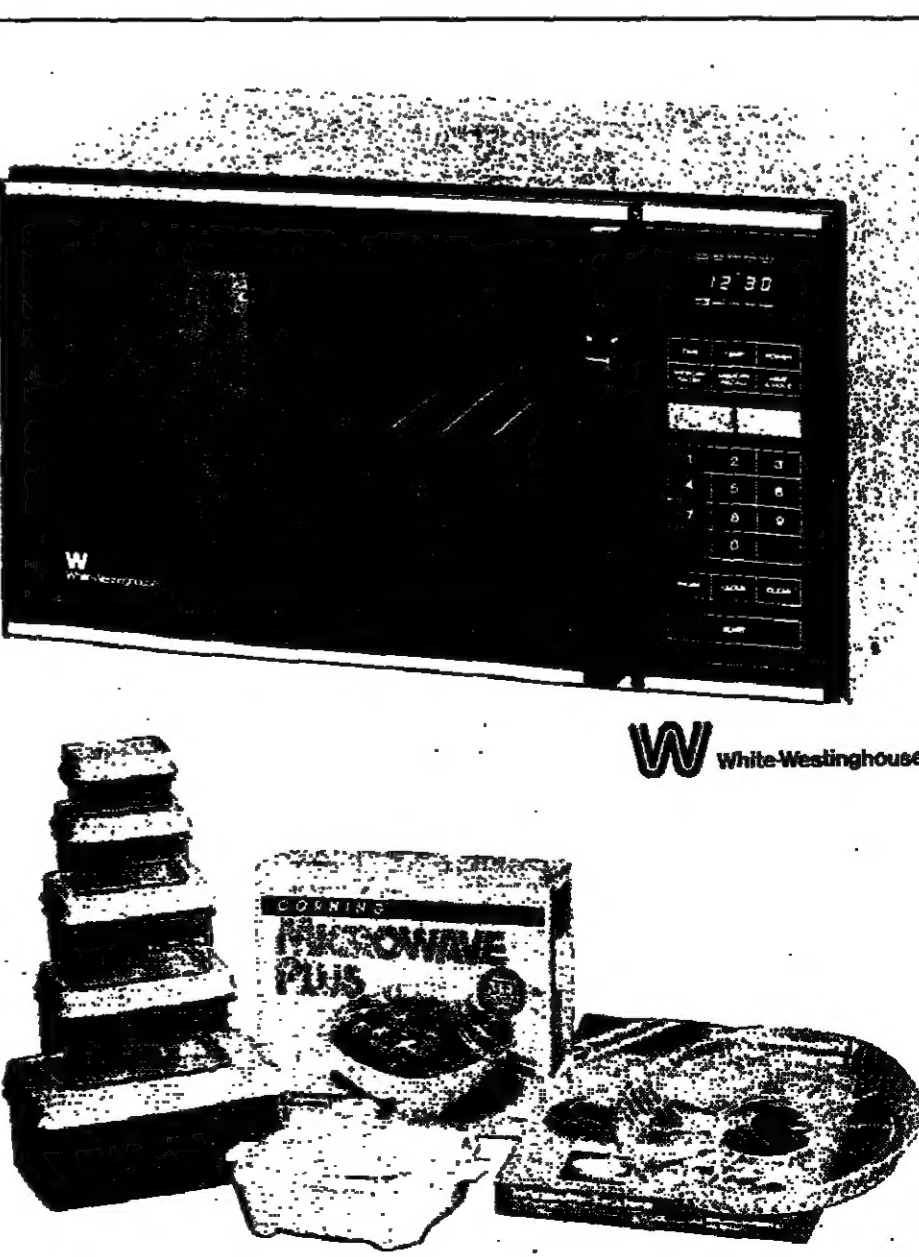
After almost 40 years of independence, and 20 years of Israeli rule in the West Bank and Gaza we must realize that this state is a Jewish state but with a large Arab minority. It is not a purely Jewish state, (as Meir Kahane and his followers would like it to become). Three-and-a-half-million Jews live here side by side with more than two million Arabs.

In this situation there are a variety of possible solutions: partition, assimilation, home rule or autonomy, and direct rule or occupation. We have chosen the last and worst possibility: the continuation of occupation. And because that's what we have chosen, we must pay the full price, which is a dual state. For better or for worse.

The Ramat Amidar events are the darkest side of the situation. Maybe the darkest to date.

The writer is The Jerusalem Post's Middle East editor.

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Yosef Goell considers an issue 'full of contradictions'

MOST clouds have silver linings. Last week's one-day, nation-wide Arab general strike, like the election of the anti-Arab racist, Meir Kahane, to the Knesset three years ago, are milestones in a process that is focusing the attention of Israel's Jewish majority on the presence of a substantial non-Jewish minority among them.

Israeli policy towards its Arabic-speaking minority groups has, for close to 40 years, been the preserve of a small number of so-called "Arabists," who have come primarily from the security community, with a small number of academics on their periphery. The attitude of the bulk of the Jewish population has been one of conscious disregard, of shutting one's eyes to the presence of these other people, rather than one of outright hostility and discrimination.

The Jewish political establishment has largely reflected the attitudes of both groups. It usually preferred to ignore the problems connected with the presence of a significant minority population, if only could. When it could not ignore them, it was largely — but not entirely — guided by the security-dominated outlook of its "Arabist" advisers. Only since 1984, has the level of the establishment's dealings with the minorities been upgraded to that of a cabinet minister — albeit a minister without portfolio. While Shimon Peres was premier, this post was filled by Ezer Weizman; since last October when Yitzhak Shamir became prime minister, Moshe Arens has been responsible for Arab affairs.

Did last week's Israeli Arab general strike "for equality" succeed? Well, did the massive demonstration in Tel Aviv in October of 1982, against the Sabra and Shatila massacre "succeed"? It is highly doubtful that in that demonstration, all the 400,000 reputed demonstrators really came out into Tel Aviv's streets. The important point was that a very large number of people did come out to register their dismay with the direction the war in Lebanon had taken. But it took close on another three years to get out of Lebanon.

Similarly, the important point about the Israeli Arabs' strike was that a very large number of Arab workers did stay away from work. The fact that the Arab community did not participate, while correct, was beside the point. A large majority of Moslem Arabs participated in the strike, even at the risk of troubled relations with their Jewish employers. Another important point in regard to the Arab strike was that this time, as opposed to the original Land Day demonstrations in 1976, and the ones in 1982, the organizers succeeded in imposing a degree of discipline that guaranteed an impressively non-violent protest.

The main organizing body behind the strike was the Rakah communist party, and bodies which it controls or dominates, like the committees of heads of Arab local councils. That does not mean that all, or even most, of the Arabs who stayed away from work that day, support Rakah or will vote for it in the next elections. Just like the hundreds of thousands who demonstrated in response to Sabra and Shatila in 1982 were not members of Peace Now, the small parties of the Left or even of the Labour Party, who organized that event. The impressive aspect of both demonstrations was that the organizers in both cases succeeded in striking a raw nerve among a very large number of unaffiliated people who came out to demand official attention to their distress.

The fact that Rakah was the successful organizer of the strike does present a problem for Israel's policymakers. Despite the fact that Rakah



Friends in the Old City

(J. Fishman)

Arabs and Jews: a two-way street

was successful in keeping its PLO rhetoric in a low key this time, the fact remains that it and the competing Progressive List for Peace ran against each other in the last elections by vying for the open support of Yasser Arafat and the PLO leadership. Nothing basic has changed in this regard since then. Anything that works for the dominance of either of these parties among the Israeli Arab population cannot but serve to identify it, in the eyes of the Jewish majority, with Israel's mortal enemies. But the chief responsibility for enabling Rakah to achieve such dominance lies with the Jewish political parties, and especially with Labour.

NEARLY ALL academic studies of what is happening among Israel's Arabs, indicate that roughly one quarter of them have made their peace with their existence as a minority in a Jewish Israel. These Arabs want to pursue and win, for themselves and their families, as good a life as Israel has to offer, but they very legitimately resent the many instances of real discrimination towards Israel's Arabs in Jewish Israel.

A similar proportion express opinions that are unquestionably antagonistic to Israel and its continued existence as a Jewish state. There is no point in closing one's eyes to the fact that a significant number of Israeli Arabs, albeit a minority, continue to harbour a burning hostility to Israel's existence, more as an expression of their Palestinian identity than because they have been victims of discrimination.

About half the Israeli-Arab population appears to be part of a

silent majority, torn between both extremes, which keeps looking for signals which would show them which way to go. To my mind, it would be the height of folly for Israel's Jewish establishment to adopt policies, or even to continue its stance of purposeful disregard, whose outcome would be to drive large parts of that undecided majority into the arms of the PLO-identified enemies of Israel.

The intelligent response to the success of last week's strike should be to adopt policies and even take some risks that would persuade many of those undecided Israeli Arabs as possible, that it pays to throw in their lot with those who believe that it is possible to fight with well-intentioned Jewish supporters for Arabs to share in the good life that a Jewish Israel can offer.

What is the true situation in regard to discrimination against Israel's Arabs? How unequal are they? As is the case with most complex social issues, the answers to these questions, too, are replete with contradictions. On the one hand, Israel's Arabs are by far the best off in the entire Middle East. This is true in regard to basic welfare: how many of their babies remain alive, how free they are from debilitating diseases, how long they can expect to live. It is also true with respect to standard of living, level of education, and the benefits of living in a democratic society which guarantees more personal security than any country in our area. These are no mean achievements in a Jewish Israel which has been at war with the kinsmen of its Arab minorities for close to four decades. There is much to be proud of in this regard.

On the other hand, there are many instances of clear discrimination against Israeli Arabs which should bring a blush of shame to the cheeks of Israel's Jews, who of all people should know better. In certain respects the situation is worse today than it was in the past, primarily because Israel's Arabs have advanced to such a degree that their expectations are far higher than they were. In the 1950s and 60s Israel's Arabs did not expect, nor demand,

equality with the Jews. In the 1980s, the vast majority of Israel's Arabs who were born in the State of Israel, do expect the sort of equality that a democratic Israel promises all of its citizens.

The most painful form of discrimination against the Arabs is the woeful underdevelopment and under-budgeting of the schools in the Arab sector. Israeli Jews seldom realize how central the question of the education of their children has become to Israel's Arabs. It recalls the frantic determination of Jewish immigrants to the U.S. in an earlier generation to provide a good education for their children as a key to success in life. The rank discrimination in the level of the Ministry of Interior's per capita grants to Arab local councils as compared with equivalent Jewish local councils, is another legitimate major cause for complaint and chagrin.

Blame for the near-total absence of industrialization in Arab villages and the consequent need of a large number of Arab owners to travel great distances in their struggle to make a living, may be mixed. The government has certainly not directed any development budgets to that purpose; but neither have the growing number of moneyed Israeli Arabs — and there are quite a number of those — been willing to risk their own capital for such purposes.

Where the Arab strikers were wrong is in regard to the issue of illegal building. The Markovitz report, which was adopted by the government, and which accorded post facto legalization to the vast majority of the 7,000 or so Arab homes built without permits, and often in defiance of the law, constitutes a major point of progress on a thorny issue. But it is essential, for the good of the Arab communities themselves, that the hundreds of illegally built homes — out of those 7,000 — which constitute real threats to the safety and the urban needs of those very communities, be demolished.

Fighting discrimination does not mean tolerating those who flout the law, whether Jewish or Arab. If the Arabs are to come into the fight against discrimination with clean hands, it is essential that their local leaders join with the authorities in ensuring at least that homes that are continuing to be built in defiance of local planning ordinances, be stopped and demolished. Turning over a

new leaf in relations between the Arab community and official Israel, which is basically what the strikers were demanding, cannot be a one-way operation.

Many Jewish communities and localities are victims of similar deficiencies to the ones that affect Arab localities. I chuckled to myself when I read in *The Post* last week that one of the organizers of the strike, in giving an example of discrimination against Arabs, complained that his village had no swimming pool. I live in reputedly posh French Hill in Jerusalem, and we don't have a swimming pool either, nor do any of the other neighbourhoods in North Jerusalem. So what! It does a disservice to the struggle against real discrimination to overstate the case in such a silly manner.

THE ROLE the Arabs are permitted to play in politics is a key to progress in the struggle for Arab equality and for their integration into a Jewish Israel. There is never enough to go around in modern societies, and different sectors in democratic societies compete for their slice of the pie by making use of their political power. It pays to remember that Israel's Arabs constitute as large a proportion of the population as do Orthodox Jews. While Arabs vote and are represented in the Knesset, they have in effect been totally frozen out of any meaningful share in political power. All that Arabs have won in Israel has been as a result of Jewish benevolent paternalism, and not of their own political clout.

The Jewish establishment has been understandably wary of enabling the Arabs to organize politically to work for their own sectoral interests. There has always been the fear that such an organization would work more in support of anti-Israel, Palestinian national goals than of the bread-and-butter issues that concern the daily lives of Israel's Arabs. It is a reasonable fear; but there is also much to say for overcoming it and taking the risks involved in seeking to make the Israeli Arabs true participants in the give-and-take of Israeli interest group politics.

For starters, the Labour Party could take cognizance of the fact that the number of Arabs who voted Labour in the last elections accounted for nearly three MKs, while only one was in a safe place on its list. One of Shimon Peres's mistakes as party leader, last time, was opposing the inclusion of another one or two Arabs in realistic places on its list of candidates. Peres and the Labour Party would also have done a great deal to overcome their image of talking out of both sides of their mouths had they appointed MK Abdel Wahab Daroube deputy minister of education. And it is still not too late to correct that mistake.

Moshe Arens, too, could enhance his and his party's credibility among the Arabs, if he could get one Arab — even if just a favoured Beduin — on the Likud's list for the next elections. And the time has certainly come to implement Menachem Begin's suggestion that an Arab jurist be appointed to the Supreme Court.

Members of a minority, like the Israeli Arabs, who are fighting for an equal share of the Israeli pie, deserve a large measure of understanding on the part of well-intentioned members of the Jewish majority. I must add, however, that majorities deserve understanding, too. No national majority in the world would for a moment tolerate a minority, much less extend it equal rights, which insists on expressing its determination to undermine that majority's control of its own national turf. This is all the more true for the Jewish people who have just recently attained their own sliver of national independence after 2,000 years of being a harassed minority.

Those Israeli Arabs who insist on chanting, "We shall liberate Arab Galilee with our blood and spirit," as many do; and those who find it chic to openly support Israel's mortal enemies, are the greatest enemies of the majority of the Israeli Arab population. Israeli Jews, who are being asked to join in the struggle for Israeli Arab equality, have the right to demand that the Arabs for whom they are being asked to fight, openly denounce and dissociate themselves from the PLO-supporting extremists in their midst.

The writer is a member of the editorial staff of *The Jerusalem Post*.

Idea of Holocaust memorial in U.S. should be scrapped

Shlomo Avineri

IT MAY already be too late, but the plans for a United States national memorial to the Holocaust should be stopped. For American, as well as for Jewish reasons, there is no place for such a Holocaust memorial on the mall in Washington, D.C.

The difficulties into which the architectural design has already run seem to suggest the plethora of problems the project is going to face, both in terms of its physical planning and its exhibits.

The initiative of those Jewish organizations and individuals promoting the idea of such a memorial is commendable. But it is misplaced and involves serious flaws in judgement. Since the Holocaust is an understandably delicate issue, many American Jewish organizations and individuals who have serious doubts and misgivings about the project have remained silent. It is precisely because of its sensitivity that this issue should not be decided by default.

I feel uncomfortable to state the following: Despite the fact that my parents and I immigrated to Israel before World War II, and thus, did not have immediate experience of the Holocaust; our whole family perished in Poland during the war. This included my two grandfathers, my grandmother, my mother's seven sisters and brothers — as well as their spouses and children. So I hope nobody will accuse me of being insensitive to the issue.

To put it crudely, the Holocaust is not, repeat not, part of the American experience. A memorial to it does not belong next to the American national shrines commemorating Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln — and the Vietnam War. Those Jewish American activists who would like to integrate the Holocaust — as a warning to us all — into the symbolic language of the American civil religion may not have thought through the implications.

The very existence of such a memorial in the area considered the pantheon of the American historical experience may backfire. No other American religious or ethnic group — not even the Pilgrim Fathers — have a memorial on the Washington Mall.

There is something wrong with the whole idea — and it will be perceived as such by many non-Jewish Americans. They may not express their misgivings now, when plans are still on the drawing-board. When, however, the memorial becomes a physical reality, next to the Smithsonian, some unexpected — but not totally unpredictable — reactions may be evoked.

THE SAME applies to the memorial's exhibits. Should the memorial represent only Jewish suffering under the Nazis? What about the Gypsies, the one group which shared the fate of the Jews as an ethnic group condemned to extinction by the Nazis? And is it inconceivable that the Poles — maybe even the Ukrainians — will claim that their sufferings, different though they were, should be included? And what about the Armenians in World War



President Roosevelt

Is the American Jewish leadership ready for this debate — and its implications?

Similarly, what about the role of President Roosevelt? How will it be handled, especially in light of the latest revelations, included in David Wyman's book? Should all the fact due to an American President be used — and hence historical falsification perpetuated — or should Roosevelt's inhumanity and cold-blooded insensitivity be cast in marble on the mall of the capital of the United States?

The whole idea is wrong. The Holocaust was a terrible historical fate that befell Jews in Europe; it should be remembered in every European city from which Jewish were expelled. It should be recalled in Auschwitz, Majdanek, Treblinka — and in Jerusalem, but not in a national U.S. memorial in Washington.

The wish of many American Jews to remember the Holocaust and integrate it into their collective experience should, of course, be honoured and encouraged (though the Holocaust should never become the exclusive, or even dominant, element in the Jewish experience). The Jews have also made contributions to the world.

Therefore a Jewish museum of the Holocaust, preferably in one of the major Jewish centres in the U.S., should be established by the American Jewish community. To attempt to force it into the collective American experience is a grave historical and psychological error.

ONE FINAL word about the argument regarding the universal significance of a national U.S. Holocaust memorial as a symbol of man's inhumanity towards man.

I hope the following observation will not offend any American, Jewish or non-Jewish: In a nation that still does not have a national monument to the enslavement of Blacks, or the fate of the American Indians, a national memorial to the destruction of European Jewry is not the way to remind oneself of the furies that reside within each of us.

There is a national memorial to the Holocaust, in the Land of the Jews — Yad Vashem. Leave the mall in Washington, D.C. to the American Experience.

The writer is a former director-general of the Foreign Ministry.

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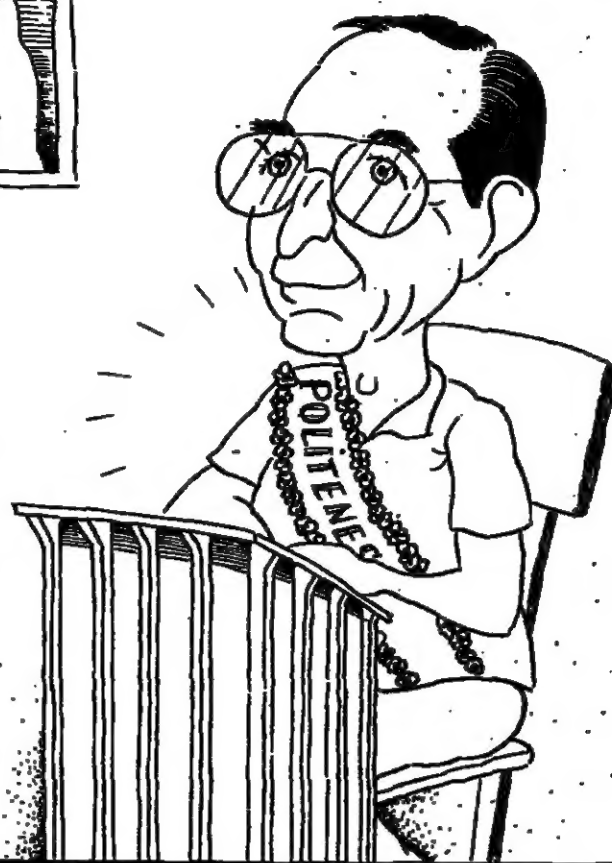
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Portrait of a nationalist

Likud MK Uzi Landau declares that he is 'no chauvinist' in an interview with *The Jerusalem Post's* Knesset Reporter Dvora Getzler. At the same time, he denies the existence of a separate and distinct Palestinian people and argues that Arab rights to the Land of Israel 'are not the equal of ours.'



Nissim

"THIS IS not a normal country," says first-term Likud MK Uzi Landau, seated in the cramped Knesset office which he shares with party colleagues Dan Meridor, Meir Shitrit and Yigal Cohen-Orad, and their two assistants. Stickers on the wall condemn extremism and plead for tolerance. A press clipping derisive of Deputy Premier David Levy was pasted on the wall "by a secretary," says Landau uncomfortably — but this interview will not focus on Likud in-fighting, where he is known to oppose Levy's bid for power.

"Preoccupation with democracy, liberalism, humanism, pluralism has blinded us to the fact that this state was created first and foremost as a Jewish state, and that all these values, none of which I want to erode, are intended to serve that end. In that sense we are not a normal state," says Landau.

National aims, and the overriding need for planning geared to their realization are what he would really like to spend time on in the Knesset. But factionalism stands in the way. Both Labour, "and, yes, the Likud, too," are guilty in this respect.

Scorning the much vaunted Israeli ability to get by on more or less inspired improvisation, he cherishes a vision of an Israel that will have and implement 20-year plans, under regular five-year review, in which education from kindergarten through to university, demographic policies, population dispersal, economics, security, will all work towards securing national interests. But at the same time, he wants to get government off the backs of the people.

The 44-year-old engineer, who headed the Transport Ministry for a few years before becoming an MK, is the son of the late Haim Landau, the Irgun Zva' Leumi's chief-of-staff. Those who coined the appellation "the Herut prince," he says, meant to hurt and succeed. He came up through Betar, started his army service with a Betar Nahal paratroopers group and fought hard for his Knesset place.

He is "in principle, definitely" a disciple of Jabotinsky, founder of the Revisionist movement that eventually became the Herut party.

"But some of the problems he correctly understood 50 years ago may have to be solved differently, because of today's changed reality."

"The most obvious example is our relations with the Arabs," Landau says.

Defining this problem discomfited Landau. Eventually he takes refuge in quoting Jabotinsky the poet:

"And there [in Eretz Yisrael], too, the sons of Arabia and Nazareth shall drink to their full of plenty and happiness."

But that glowing prophecy "was based on the assumption that we Jews would be strong enough to convince the Arabs of their inability to overthrow the Jewish state, and that Arabs would put up with being a national minority within a sovereign Jewish state."

A democracy, he says, can maintain "its democratic character as long as the minority group within it is small enough, and relations with it are reasonable."

"But today that minority is growing in Eretz Yisrael. And it is open to a propaganda onslaught by Arab media in states that for the most part seek our destruction. The result of this is that we are faced with an entire generation educated on vicious Arab chauvinism."

LANDAU IS a consistent and forceful critic of the government's failure to dismantle what he terms the cultural-political infrastructure of the PLO in the territories — newspapers, universities and theatre. And just as he sees education as the key to strengthening the Jewish people, so he believes that Arabs in Israel must be educated into acceptance of their minority status in a Jewish state.

Deplored the situation which he says exists in too many Galilee Arab villages where the Ministry of Education no longer has even a foothold of supervision, he believes that those Arabs who want a more Arab-national curriculum should set up and finance their own schools, "as Jews do abroad. But our state education must be the education of a Jewish state."

He is equally forthright when discussing Palestinian national aspirations.

"I categorically deny the existence of a Palestinian people as separate and distinct from, for instance, the Arabs of Syria. The concept of a separate Palestinian people is used by the Arabs as a stick to beat us with and as an instrument to prepare the annihilation of the State of Israel."

"Peoples are not formed overnight, merely because subjectively that is what they have decided to call themselves. The process takes centuries," he argues.

"Of course the Arabs of Eretz

Yisrael have their culture and their aspirations, but these are Arab culture and aspirations, which we must respect."

Rejection of Palestinian peoplehood is, for him, "a cardinal point which goes to the very heart of our Jewish entitlement to Eretz Yisrael, and to the essence of our struggle."

"Unless we Jews in Israel realize this, and are fully convinced of the justice of our cause, we will not have the moral stamina to withstand all the challenges still in store for us from that direction."

Landau is incensed with "the liberal, secular left, notably the Citizens Rights Movement" for having infused into growing sections of the Israeli public an acceptance of Palestinian peoplehood. That, he says, has shifted what could be a "legitimate" debate over the territories away from questions of security and the future of the Zionist enterprise to the plane of "so-called conflicting, equal national rights."

He notes with grave concern "the erosion that this has also brought about even in parts of the Labour Party and Mapam."

Debate over "Judea and Samaria is legitimate only as long as we are all agreed that this is part of our homeland, without any doubt whatsoever, and that if we ever relinquish any part of it, that will solely be because the survival of the Jewish people and the Jewish state is at stake, and there is thus absolutely no alternative."

"What we must also all be agreed upon is that should this ever happen, the reason will not be because our enemies are, like us, civilized people whose just rights are equal to ours."

"Their rights are not the equal of ours."

Landau quotes Jabotinsky's *Kir Habarzel* (The Iron Wall) as still burning relevant in its advocacy of an iron wall of Jewish resistance to the Arab threat.

But he believes the iron wall is threatened from within by rust. He also contends that the wall is only as strong as it is perceived to be by the enemies.

"Today, regrettably, the Arab states are far from perceiving Israel's strength as sufficient to make it essential for them to sit down and sign a peace agreement with us."

Landau still sees the Camp David accords as a "tragic, historic error, that robbed Israel of the will to use its

military might, just as the Vietnam War weakened the U.S." But he believes the peace has marked the start of "a long psychological process, which could take decades, in which Egypt may learn to accept us."

FOR LANDAU, one of the country's biggest failures is the neglect of Jewish education, "which doesn't mean Jewish religious education," he adds quickly.

"It's inconceivable that Jewish history, modern Jewish history. Zionism be taught in exactly the same way as the French or American revolutions. It can't just be dry information. It must have behind it some sense that will give youngsters the feeling that this is their identity."

He is scathingly critical of what he terms the scorn of the Diaspora and its achievements inculcated by Israeli schools.

"We need to get back to our roots. To know where we come from, even if we don't want to adopt that way of life. Children have to be taught to appreciate what it means to be Jewish, to love it, to feel deeply that they are part of it, whether they decide that the religion is not for them, or they opt to observe all the commandments."

At the same time, he condemns the movement of newly-Orthodox Jews wherever they preach against army service. Had the schools not failed in their mission, he says, the movement would never have arisen.

How does someone so concerned with Zionism and Jewish unity justify the Likud's alliance with such ultra-Orthodox, non-Zionist (if not anti-Zionist) parties as Shas and the Aguda, many of whose policies anger large sections of the secular Zionist population in Israel and among world Jewry?

It is "the liberal secular left which is to blame for much, perhaps even more of the tension with the religious," Landau replies. He believes the majority of Israelis are ready to make some concessions, though he agrees that the Orthodox, too, must be more flexible and conciliatory.

As for Diaspora Jews, whether Conservative, Reform or secular, "unless they come here to wield their influence, they must accept that Israel's religious roots are in the Orthodox tradition."

Landau is the clear, consistent, honest, and always courteously argued voice of what he proudly calls *le'umani* — national-mindedness. "Please don't call me *le'umani*," he says. "*Le'umani* means nationalist, chauvinist, and I'm no chauvinist."

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مكتبة الامم المتحدة

Menachem Shalev writes about the political struggle in Tehiya and the role of Gershon Shafat, one of the party's Orthodox MKs. Shafat is adamant about the 'danger of redundant religious legislation'

Knesset Member in the shadows



IN THE 1970s, MK Gershon Shafat was a full-fledged member of the triumvirate that spearheaded Gush Emunim's fiery and largely successful onslaught for settlement of the West Bank. But the names of Moshe Levinger and Hanan Porat are the ones which became household items.

Today, overshadowed by his four outspoken colleagues in the Tehiya Party, Shafat continues to be shrouded in relative obscurity. A reason, perhaps, why some people believe that he may fall prey to the current power struggles in his party.

MK Rafael Eitan (Rafal), emitting ominous noises about a possible bolt from Tehiya, wishes to settle a long-held grudge and is seeking promotion in the party's list for the next Knesset for at least one of his Zomet movement backers.

Since the relegation of either Tehiya chairman Yuval Ne'eman or the flamboyant Geula Cohen is unthinkable, Eitan is actually pointing at one of the two spots currently occupied by the representatives of Gush Emunim as the likely sacrifice.

Kiryat Arba's Rabbi Eliezer Waldman, a Gush guru who was questioned - but never charged - in connection with the Jewish underground, is Shafat's revered partner and potential competitor in Tehiya.

Shafat, who lives in Kibbutz Ein

Zurim near Ashkelon, does not believe that Rafal will leave Tehiya, and maintains that the religious representation in the party is not bound by the "simplistic" electoral equations advanced by Rafal. In an interview this week he quoted estimations of a nearly two-Knesset-seat dowry brought to Tehiya by its religious MKs, but added that "even if we only brought one mandate, justice should be seen, not just done."

The allocation of Knesset seats to the religious MKs on the Tehiya list, he said, fulfills one of the party's "ten commandments" - a joint movement of the religious and the secular.

Rafal also accepts the principle of religious-secular collaboration, says Shafat, citing the former chief of staff's adherence to the Tehiya rule of making no public appearances on Shabbat. He is only waging a war for seats, which Shafat considers "legitimate." He himself does not object to Eitan's independent - if not renegade - position on religious matters: "I tell the religious public that in my eyes, a four-year joint struggle on substantive issues is worth a negative vote or two dictated by Rafal's conscience."

MK Geula Cohen, it is said, would be quite happy to see Rafal leave Tehiya, and may thus provide unqualified support for Shafat's continued presence on the party's list.

"NONSENSE," says Shafat of the contention that Gush voters are returning to the renewed hawkishness of the reconstituted National Religious Party. "I hear from many in the religious community who say that next time they won't vote NRP. 'Gershon,' they tell me, 'nothing there has changed.'"

"They have made an enormous effort in vain," he says of the NRP's self-touted inner revolution. "As a movement, the NRP has more to offer than most others, but their advantages are wasted because of their political leadership. It will be a great achievement if they succeed in maintaining their current Knesset strength."

Shafat would not mind if the NRP, along with the other religious parties, disappeared from the political map altogether. Religious parties are a thing of the past, he says, and "do not contribute to bridging the gap that divides the religious and the secular. They often fight about religious matters in a way that excites hate towards the religion of Israel in the secular public."

Shafat cites the recent *shmita* controversy, which he says, was not only a distortion of the sabbatical year laws, but also "an insult by Agudat Yisrael to the Chief Rabbinate and an insult by the government to the general public, all perpetrated by

religious parties."

Religious-secular tensions must not be exacerbated by redundant religious legislation, says Shafat.

"I support the Who is a Jew bill, but I wouldn't say it was the most urgent thing in the world. I've told the bill's initiators that I will no longer vote for the amendment if a majority in the Knesset is not assured. It won't end in the Knesset anyway, because after the bill is passed they'll start bickering about whether conversion according to Halacha means the Halacha of the Chief Rabbinate or that of the Eda Haredit."

Shafat says it is far preferable that the religious streams in the U.S. reach agreement on which rabbis may perform conversions, thus making the Who is a Jew bill less divisive here and, arguably, superfluous altogether.

TEHIYA HAS recently caused a flutter in Labour Party headquarters by pointing a gun at the Likud's head: either give in to our demands or we will vote with Labour for early elections, the party says.

Shafat makes it sound as if a vote for elections is just around the corner, but has to add that if the government "appropriates suitable sums for the expansion of existing settlements in Judea and Samaria, and erects new ones," Tehiya will take its finger off the trigger.

Shafat rejects Prime Minister Shamir's logic which holds that the idea of an international conference will

with away the longer new elections are put off. Foreign Minister Peres's promotion jaunts around the world, he says, are creating facts on the ground which may not be relevant right now, but which for years to come will serve as a starting point for pressure on Israel.

"It's a national shame and a disgrace" that the government has not reached a conclusive decision on the conference, he declares, adding, "Shamir is not assertive enough on this matter. He should have summoned Peres and ordered him to stop; Peres would have either stopped or left the government."

Shafat does not think that elections in a year or a year and a half would work in the national camp's favour.

"I don't believe the public supports the international conference. The economic situation is good right now, and Labour is dropping in the polls. I don't accept Shamir's conception."

He neglects to mention the universally projected gains for his party, gains which might mean that even if one is relegated in the Tehiya list, one might still enter the Knesset.

"If the government is carrying out Labour's policy anyway," Shafat asks rhetorically, referring to Peres's initiatives and the lack of new West Bank settlements, "what do I need the Likud for?" Tying the loose ends of the Tehiya strategy, he adds that new settlements would make a mockery of Peres's efforts in the eyes of the world.

In Tehiya's ultimatum to Shamir, an enticing latent alternative, in the form of a Likud-led, Tehiya-joined narrow coalition is also implied. Shafat, who prefers such a solution to early elections, says that "this is a matter for Shamir to decide."

The Debaisha incident was even

graver, he asserts, referring, of course, to the "character assassination" committed by the army against the Kiryat Arba residents who went to a "quiet demonstration" at the refugee camp. "It turned out in court, that much of what was originally reported was simply a lie," he says.

Shafat lambasts O/C Central Command Aluf Avraham Mitzna's depiction of the Debaisha incident as "vile" and asks of COGS Dan Shomron, who backed Mitzna's statement: "Who says he is any better?" The army lied, says Shafat (for reasons he refuses to elaborate), "and the matter should be investigated."

Discussing Meir Kahane, Shafat says he is dangerous, promoting extremist anti-democratic opinions among youth and perverting the dictates of religious law. His voice rises in anger when asked whether his own proposal to resettle half a million Palestinian refugees in "Arab lands" - a project in which Shafat "would expect" the U.S. to take a commanding role - does not have a whiff of Kahane's plan.

"Tabenkin, Jabotinsky, Ben-Gurion and Katzenelson all proposed such a 'transfer,'" he snaps, "and they don't resemble Kahane."

If the refugees were offered "better conditions," many would pack up and leave, he believes.

The Arabs who stayed behind after Tehiya's call for annexation of the West Bank was headed, he says, would enjoy full rights on the local municipal level, and would be able to vote for the Jordanian parliament with their Jordanian passports "just like an American citizen here can vote for the president of the United States."

Shafat himself does not live in Judea or Samaria, which may perhaps provide ideological impetus for a possible move to dislodge him from the Knesset when the showdown with Rafal occurs.

He lived in the original Ein Zurim in Gush Etzion, and spent 10 months in Jordanian captivity when that area was overrun in 1948.

He went to the present Ein Zurim with other remnants of the original kibbutz, and for 16 years ran a leather-goods factory there, quite successfully it is said. He would like to continue in the next Knesset, feeling that he has much more to contribute. If not, Shafat says, there are still many tasks awaiting him, both in the kibbutz and for "the cause."

South Africans remember

HABONIM (S.A.) Heritage is a new creation of former members of S.A. Habonim, the movement which will celebrate its 60th anniversary at the end of this decade. The aim is that by then Habonim (S.A.) Heritage, an *amuta* registered according to Israeli law, will have built a suitable centre in Israel dedicated to preserving the history and traditions of S.A. Habonim, and to preserving, in permanent form, documents, photographs, letters, magazines, handbooks, home movies and objects of historical value.

Dr. Gideon Shimoni, a graduate of S.A. Habonim and historian at the Hebrew University, hopes also that either he, or one of his students, will write a monograph on the subject of S.A. Habonim, based on the material collected.

The idea of the project developed from the success of the 50th anniversary reunion, organized by, and held at Kibbutz Tzora in 1980. Despite the promotion campaign at the time - a special *Jerusalem Post* supplement and several advertisements - the organizers were astonished by the overwhelming response - 3,000 people gathered at

Philip Gillon

Tzora, instead of the few hundred expected.

Allowing for former Habonim people who were unable to attend, this means that there may be as many as 5,000 former S.A. Habonim graduates living in Israel, approximately a quarter to a third of all South African olim.

It was known that Habonim groups had established and helped develop the kibbutzim of Tzora, Maayan Baruch, Yizre'el, Nir Eliyahu, and Tuval, as well as Moshav Habonim, but nobody had realized how many other graduates were scattered from the Golan Heights to Eilat. Many of the participants at the get-together had sent souvenirs of their Habonim days, that they had preserved, such as a Habonim belt, the woggle for a scarf, special bloomers worn by the girls, printed material, photographs and movies. These were made up into an impressive exhibition, but at the end of the event, all this valuable historical matter was returned to the owners.

Habonim in South Africa began as a Jewish boy scout movement, but later became strongly imbued with kibbutz ideology.

Nevertheless, it differed from other kibbutz-oriented youth movements in that it accommodated youths who had no intention of going on kibbutz, but were strongly Zionist and dreamt of going on aliya. This probably explained why it was far and away the most popular youth movement in South Africa.

With the 60th anniversary approaching, people at Tzora had an inspiration - the creation of the new centre. They interested Norman (Nibby) Penn in the idea who had been, in his time, chief *bene* of Transvaal Habonim and deputy-chief *bene* of S.A. Habonim. He agreed to take the initiative in the formation of an *amuta*, and the project is now well under way.

All S.A. Habonim graduates who are interested in helping the project should register with Paul Even Mirbach (Penn) at the offices of World Habonim, 25 Ibn Gabirol Street, Tel Aviv (03-299211/2), and should advise him what historical material they have in their possession.

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In memoriam: Harold Levy

Teacher of British Jewry

HAROLD LEVY, who died a month ago, just a few days before his 78th birthday, was widely known and deeply loved as a teacher by several generations of British Jews. His wife Hannah, 10 years his junior, and a true helpmate, followed him just a week later. The ancient words of David come to mind: "They were pleasant and lovely in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided."

Levy was born in Ayr, near Glasgow, where he studied and taught mathematics for many years. Hebrew teaching, though, was his supreme vocation.

Inspector of Hebrew schools for the entire country, he was active, not only in London and the larger provincial centres, but in numerous smaller communities, which he often visited on his bicycle, a modern version of the *melamed*.

During World War II he helped, with his mentor the late Nathan Morris, to bring a modicum of Jewish education to those children evacuated to the countryside.

After the war, this developed into the formation of Jewish Youth Study Groups, a non-political organization aiming to teach young people something of their heritage.

Levy's work continued after he became warden, and his wife matron of Jews' College, London. Between 1950 and 1970, he organized 49 summer and winter schools for JYSG members.

He did not preach Zionism; he taught Judaism. Nevertheless, his influence on his students was profound: about 300 of them live here today. Although his heart was here, his life's work was in the Diaspora. He visited Israel frequently.

Both Harold and Hannah were the kindest of people; perhaps these lines from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* sum up Harold Levy: "He was a very parfit gentle knight," and, "Gladly would he learn and gladly teach."

A memorial service, arranged by his former students, will be held at the Yeshurun Synagogue, Jerusalem, on Monday, July 6, at 8 p.m. D.S.

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How much did the president know about the Iran-Contra affair? Oliver North could give the answer

THE MAN who stands at the epicentre of the Iran-Contra Affair will break his seven-month silence and tell America his side of the story for most of next week here.

President Reagan has called Lt. Col. Oliver North a "national hero," his mounting critics say his testimony cannot be believed. Yet, regardless of one's opinion of North, his appearance before the joint Select Congressional Committee on the Iran-Contra Affair will mark the highlight of hearings that have failed to capture the imagination of the American public.

North's appearance was in doubt until very recently because he felt that such congressional testimony could only incriminate him. This issue has now been resolved as the committees have promised him immunity for his testimony, along with assurances that he would have to testify publicly for only four days, in addition to one day of a preliminary private session.

The central question that the legislators want to ask North is this: "Did President Reagan know about the diversion of Iranian arms sales funds to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua?" It is said that only three people would know with certainty, and one has died - Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Director William Casey. The other two are former National Security Adviser John Poindexter, and North. Reagan has consistently denied knowledge of the diversion, which is considered by many to constitute a violation of the Boland Amendment. The amendment forbade the U.S. to fund the Contra rebels at the time.

To date, these hearings have not generated public excitement. The Watergate analogy, comparing these hearings to those Congress held 14 years ago, has been a poor one.

While Watergate traced a bugging cover-up and scandal directly to the Oval office, the present hearings have dwelt more on a misguided foreign policy of selling missiles to a fanatic ayatollah and using the pro-

ceeds to topple a Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

There has been some question of complex intrigue, but it does not relate to subverting the office of the presidency for private gain as Watergate did.

Nevertheless, recent weeks have witnessed an interesting phenomenon. The jargon of Watergate has resurfaced and once again, terms such as "shredding" of documents, covert payments, and "cover-up" have been voiced in the hearings.

The phrase "smoking gun" was used in Watergate as clear evidence on tape that Nixon had actively tried to conceal from the bar of justice, both the work and the participants of the break-in to Democratic headquarters.

"Smoking gun" is now being used with reference to a memo that North wrote revealing plans to divert about \$12 million from the Iranian arms sales to the rebels. In the last few weeks, some legislators have even said that if it is proven that Reagan saw that North memo, impeachment proceedings - again reminiscent of Watergate - should begin against the president. This is considered to be a very remote possibility since even if the president had seen the memo, he remains personally popular and has only a year and four months left of his second term of office.

The personal character of Oliver North, however, has been challenged. Until recent weeks, nobody questioned his integrity. He was and still is considered to be motivated by an anti-communist ideology - Reagan's Rambo - who possesses the courage of his boss's convictions.

Yet recent revelations have tarnished North's image.

Glenn Robinette, who runs a home-security business, testified last week that he had installed a security system at North's home. Robinette said that he had been paid in full for the work (\$13,873) out of arms sales profits by Major General Richard Secord, who managed U.S. arms sales to Iran. Robinette also said that

REAGAN'S RAMBO

David Makovsky, Washington



Oliver North

(AFP)

North had asked him to send him a phony, backdated invoice to make it appear as if "Ollie" had wanted to pay for the work.

Albert Hakim, Secord's business partner, testified that he had set up a bank account aimed at creating a \$200,000 trust fund for North's children.

Charles J. Cooper, an assistant attorney general, testified last week that North had lied about a November 1985 shipment of 18 Hawk anti-aircraft missiles in which a CIA-sponsored airplane had carried weapons to Israel. Reagan officially signed the authorization for such covert activity only two months later.

North covered up his knowledge of the incident when queried by Attorney General Edwin Meese on November 20, 1986. He said at the time that he thought the shipping carried oil-drilling equipment to Israel while, in fact, North is on record on the White House computer as telling Poindexter that Hawk missiles were being sold by Israel in exchange for hostages.

The following day, North and his secretary, Fawn Hall, began shredding documents. A second "shredding party" was held later.

Cooper, when asked by the congressional panel if he would believe North's testimony under oath, replied: "I would not."

Secretary of State George Shultz said the other day that North's credibility was "a problem."

THE PARADOX in all this is that North might be so discredited by the testimony to date that, regardless of whether or not he implicates Reagan in the diversion of funds to the Contras, he might not be believed. This means that the true star witness will be NSC Adviser Poindexter who is expected to testify later in the month. Poindexter has not been as sullied as North by previous testimony.

Congressional sources say that they will have many questions for

Oliver North, apart from the diversion issue.

The sources say that the committee will ask North about the chain of command in the White House and the relationship of other government agencies like the CIA on Iranian arms sales. They would also like to know more about the business side of the venture that Hakim refers to as "the Enterprise."

The committee will also probe North on the issue of cover-up relating to the Meese investigation, the sources say.

Finally, North will be asked about his alleged fundraising and military support for the Contras at a time when such efforts were considered by many to be illegal under the provisions of the Boland Amendment.

The sources said that the material they have received from Israel on the affair was "detailed and excellent," and will be helpful in evaluating the North testimony.

Israel recently concluded an agreement with the congressional panel investigating the affair, and has already turned over a financial chronology of its involvement, with a full history to follow shortly.

The sources say that Israel will feature "substantially" in the North testimony, but refused to speculate if North will talk about other aspects of his relationship with Israel.

The recent edition of *Washingtonian* magazine says that North, in his capacity as director of the National Security Council's counter-terrorism efforts, had worked extensively with Israeli intelligence also on other issues. It cites cooperation on the Achille Lauro incident, the TWA hijacking, and the Libyan raid as examples of joint efforts. If the account is correct, it would provide a broader context to the operation.

The *Washingtonian* account said North's Israeli counterpart on some counter-terrorism projects in the Washington Embassy was Maj. General Uri Simhoni. They quote

Simhoni as saying about North. "He had huzpa." He reportedly credited North, who wanted the U.S. to emulate Israel in dealing with terrorism, for a tougher Reagan stand in this area.

Yet for all North's reported toughness, he was part of a policy that yielded great amounts of missiles for a couple of hostages and was manipulated by Iranian mullahs.

Apart from everything else, however, North must have possessed a certain charisma and this remains a mystery.

North was a 43-year-old lieutenant colonel who had never held a serious command post in the Marines, yet he seemed to enjoy inordinate powers in the NSC without supervision.

Reagan, Casey, and former NSC advisor Robert McFarlane seemed to treat him as a son, others offered support for his family and, still others, testified before Congress that they had total confidence in him.

The Congressional panel itself was even accused by members of the committee of falling under the North spell when they offered him concessions not offered to other witnesses, to ensure his testimony.

It will be interesting to see if the mystique holds out for Oliver North next week.

There is a tragic irony in the Oliver North story.

He is the man most identified with the Reagan Doctrine which has come to mean the support of anti-communist insurgency groups around the globe, be it in Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan, or other hot spots. He certainly deserved the title of Reagan's Rambo, with respect to both counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency rebel groups.

Yet, since the Iran-Contra affair was exposed last November, the issue - unlike any other - has had a debilitating effect on the Reagan presidency and weakened his agenda. This was certainly not what Oliver North had intended.

DEFENCE MINISTER Yitzhak Rabin's emergency mission to Washington to bring Uncle Sam (viz. Secretary of State George Shultz and Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger) to the rescue of our government from the pit into which the Lavi project has sunk it (as detailed in State Comptroller Ya'acov Maltz's devastating report), was apparently an offshoot of his invitation to a 70th birthday testimonial dinner in honour of *Washington Post* owner Katherine Graham.

President Ronald Reagan was also a guest at the star-studded dinner given by Graham's journalist daughter Elizabeth (Lally) Weymouth. I gather that Rabin's resolve to seek their help followed American ready-to-rescue signals, especially the one sent via Economics and Communications Minister Gad Ya'acobi during his meeting in the U.S. capital last week with Shultz's deputy John Whitehead.

PEOPLE are wondering whether Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens will remain such fast friends after the former stonewalled the latter's intensive pro-Lavi lobbying.

VICE-PREMIER and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres returned home - with political adviser Nimrod Novick and media counsellor Uri Savir - warmed by his friendly reception in Europe. At 10 Downing Street, British Premier Margaret Thatcher's aides got nervous as her chat with Peres spilled over the deadline for drafting Queen Elizabeth's speech for the opening of Parliament. In Paris he spent 75 minutes closeted with his old friend President Francois Mitterrand at the Elysee Palace, while Premier Jacques Chirac kept his wife waiting for dinner, as their planned one hour-long talk lasted for two. In Germany, Peres emerged from a day-long walking tour of Heidelberg with Chancellor Helmut Kohl on first name terms.

PERES is encouraged by European support for the international peace conference idea, with his political director-general Yoel Beilin talking of Israel and Jordan contemplating

possible interim solutions should the peace process get going, to an Israel, Britain and Commonwealth Association meeting.

WHILE not mentioning the names of Anne and Jonathan Pollard, U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering dwelt on "how well we've weathered the hiccups in our strong relationship," when together with Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Strategic Studies Centre head Aluf (res.) Aharon Yariv and Dayan Centre Chairman Prof. Itamar Rabinovich, the envoy launched a conference on domestic influences on U.S. Middle East policy at a Kfar Shmaryahu party hosted by U.S. Public Affairs Counsellor Howard Lane.

The latter said it was the first time the U.S. Information Service, which he heads here, has co-sponsored such an event. Top American scholars like UCLA's Prof. Steven Spiegel and the Carnegie Endowment's Dr. Geoffrey Kemp mingled with former U.S. diplomats-turned-academics Sam Lewis and Alfred Atherton, along with Dayan Centre trustees Dr. Yehoshua Rotenstreich and Benno Gitter. Weizmann Institute Prof. Michael Feldman, enjoyed hearing how his son, Strategic Centre whiz-kid Dr. Shai Feldman, was praised for successfully organizing the conference.

Dayan Centre trustee Zalman Shoval and wife Emma enabled conference participants to relax over dinner at their north Tel Aviv penthouse. They were chuckling over Kemp's quip that "on Col. Oliver North's positive side is his bravery as a Marine Corps officer, his extraordinary performance at Grenada and his fine choice of a secretary."

They also told me how Sunday's session chairman Amos Eran interrupted Sam Lewis's lecture when ex-MK Hillel Kook, 73, collapsed in the hall. Tending him, before he was taken for a hospital check-up, was Judea and Samaria Civil Administration head Tat-Aluf Dr. Ephraim Saeh, who used his medical training to good purpose. Among the Shov-

A call on Uncle Sam

PUBLIC FACES/Mark Segal

als' guests were Paula Moses, Raya Jaglom, Dov and Sara Tadmor, Ruth and Dan Achlezer, Abe and Carmela Cohen, as well as Discount Bank chairman Yosef Ciechanover and Cabinet Secretary Elyakim Rubinstein, who were respectively: the late foreign minister Moshe Dayan's legal and assistant legal counsels.

SPIEGEL, Kemp and other American experts yesterday drove up to Jerusalem to hold a private symposium at the P.M.'s Office. Earlier in the week, Shamir received Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and tycoon Abraham Spiegel who's here for dedication ceremonies of \$7 million in donations on major institutions like Yad Vashem, Beth Hatefutsot and Bar-Ilan University. Learning of their imminent appointment with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, Shamir asked Bradley to tell the Egyptian leader of his readiness to revive the autonomy talks and to urge Egyptian Foreign Minister Essam Abdel Meguid to accept his long-standing invitation to come here. Bradley, in turn, asked for Israeli water experts to advise LA on how to cope with the threatened drought in 1988 - expected to be the worst in 20 years.

JUDGING by the wave of public sympathy lapping around Deputy Minister Ronni Milo, Shamir may have done his lieutenant a big favour by obliging him to submit to Shas's ultimatum and relinquish the Interior Ministry to Shas's director-general Arye Der'i's sole control. Milo certainly emerged with a more liberal image - getting through summer time, settling the new Tel Aviv cemetery and Jerusalem sports stadium issues, among other decisions. Rumour has it that Der'i used to open personal letters addressed to Milo. In his next arm-wrestling contest with Der'i, maybe Ronni should seek guidance from super-hunk Sylvester Stallone, due soon to shoot *Rambo 3* in Eilat.

DEPUTY Premier and Education Minister Yitzhak Navon did not take kindly to Science Minister Gideon Patt's saying "the government shouldn't intervene in deciding on

university fees." The former retorted, "Then why did he cause all the trouble with his two-tier tuition proposal? Why does he say one thing and do another?"

FORMER Pentagon financial expert Dov Zakheim feels his much-abused position on the Lavi project has been vindicated by the latest facts set before the Israeli government. Meeting Knesset Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Abba Eban after the latter's lecture to the Brookings Institute in Washington, Zakheim said: "How could anyone have cast doubts on my attitude towards Israel?" Eban heard of how Zakheim suffered from his stand on the Lavi, being labelled "a self-hating Jew," with certain Orthodox synagogues in Washington closing their doors to him and his father - both strictly observant Jews.

WHEN Eban asked Dr. Heary Kissinger why he so opposed the international conference idea now, when he initiated Soviet involvement in the 1973 peace confab, Dr. K. replied: "But then, you had Kissinger there."

I met Eban at the Israel Cancer Association's annual dinner at the Tel Aviv Museum, where his wife Susy, Association president, welcomed the guests along with Judith Hirsch who funded the event. After cocktails in the Meshulam Riklis hall, the elegant company moved outside for a gala dinner in the Eucalyptus Garden, where the catering was donated by Dan Hotels' owners Yekutiel and Samuel Federman. Among those enjoying the programme emceed by Rivka Michaeli, were the hostess's sister, First Lady Aura Herzog, Haim and Gila Stoessel, Michael and Sheila Fox, Rubin and Feigl Zimmerman, Israel and Rachel Pollack, Ahie and Clarita Nathan and prominent New York socialite Jane Stern, taking time off from "the battle of the budget" at the annual meeting of the Bar-Ilan University Board of Trustees, of which she is the only woman vice-chairman.

Some, like Zvi and Sonya Abramovitz arrived late along with the evening's patron, Mayor Shlomo

(Chick) Lahat, directly from the Dan Accadia Hotel in Herzliya, where they'd attended the highly-successful fund-raising dinner of Ichilov Hospital cardiology department head Prof. Shlomo Laniado to buy new medical equipment, also under Lahat's patronage.

ABBA EBAN earlier addressed the opening ceremony at Beth Hatefutsot of the exhibition "The Jewish Heritage in the Eye of the Camera," co-sponsored by *The Jerusalem Post*. Contest winners were picked by a jury chaired by Dr. Rotenstreich, with Susan Propper as chief organizer. Some 2,000 photos came in from 40 countries and 20 short films from 10 lands. First photo prize (a Jewish wedding in Paris) went to a (non-Jewish) Frenchman Alain-Charles Bean and first film prize to Belgium's Gyro Ghepezyasky for an animated film based on *The Golem*.

NATAN SHARANSKY is going to the U.S. to campaign for Soviet Jewish rights during Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit there, for fear that "the media will focus on Raisa Gorbachev's clothes, and not on the real issues," as he told a gathering of U.S. Jewish leaders, at the Jerusalem home of



Natan Sharansky

(Engli)



Susy Eban

(Yisrael)

UJA Israel operations director Nafali Lavie and his wife Joan, who included Jerrold (Chick) Hoffberger, Martin Stein, Ludwig Jesselsohn, Steve and Liliane Shalom, Stanley Horowitz and Irving Levy.

AMBASSADOR Thomas Pickering opened the exhibition of the works of W. Eugene Smith at the Tel Aviv Museum, with a beaming museum director Marc Scheepers noting that donor Michael Sachs of the Museum's New York Friends' Board, dedicated the show to his father, Alfred Sachs, on his 90th birthday and first wedding

FRIENDS of intrepid Cape Town-born Miriam Mirvish gathered at the Dervish Gallery in Tel Aviv, owned by her and sister Doreen, to see leather work and jewelry from Timbuktu and other far-off places, at the opening of an exhibition of the Crafts of Nomadic Sahara - the results of her latest one-woman expedition into the African interior.

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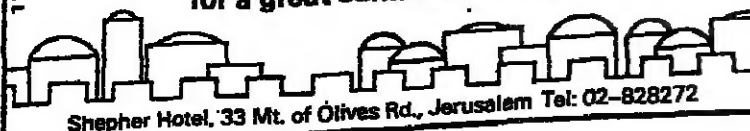
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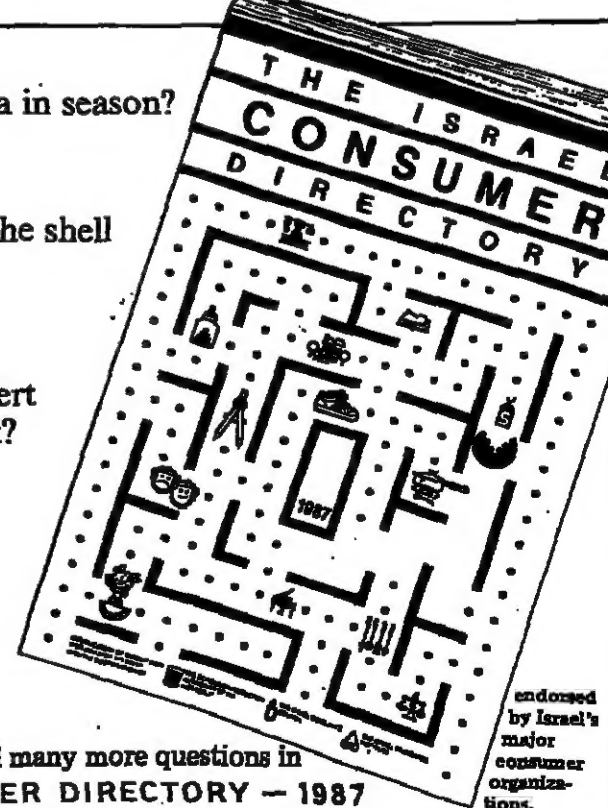
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News paper attitudes to British royalty aren't what they used to be

ON THE face of it, nothing has changed. Lady Diana (the Princess of Wales's) smiling features still stare out at British readers from the front page of at least one national newspaper a day. Prince Charles continues to make headlines with his remarks on inner-city decay, while every move Sarah Ferguson (the Duchess of York) makes is faithfully reported.

But beneath the surface, the tone has altered significantly. Where Di was once uncritically applauded, simply for being Di, she is now criticized for her extravagance and sneered at for her stupidity. Where Charles was respected for speaking his own mind and being his own man, now he is portrayed as inept and out of touch.

Only the Queen has emerged unscathed from a concerted popular press campaign against the royals that has contrived to ridicule the entire Windsor set, from Prince Philip to Prince Edward.

It has taken more than six years, but finally the Buck House soap opera is slipping in the ratings — the press backlash has begun.

The tabloid pre-occupation with the royal family began with Charles's courtship of the engagingly naive teenage Diana Spencer, and it has continued unabated ever since.

The simple fact was that the royals sold papers. Feature Diana in her new dress at Ascot on your front page, and you were guaranteed a circulation increase. Show "Fergie" and Andrew in a loving embrace, and just watch the presses roll.

But by early 1987, six years after Charles and Diana tied the knot, the public's attention had begun to wane. The daily doings of the Windsor family were no longer sufficient to arouse widespread excitement. If the tabloids were to continue milking the royal family, they would have to come up with some harder news — they would have to play dirty.

And in the last few months, that is exactly what has been happening, with Charles and Diana coming in for by far the harshest treatment.

Only this week, the *Sun* newspaper ran a two-page feature under the headline: "What happens if Charles and Di divorce?" The supplementary headline reads: "It's unthinkable...but anything goes with the royals these days."

Just days before, Fleet Street had gone to town with stories linking Diana and a hunky City banker by the name of Philip Dunne. At Lord "Bunter" Somerset's wedding bash, the stories alleged, "Di stroked Philip's hair and kissed his cheek."

"Insiders" revealed that Diana's behaviour was "out of control. She was almost falling out of her dress. Her behaviour was shocking. She would only dance with Philip, and finally Charles just dumped her and left early."

This sort of reporting would have been unthinkable a year ago, now it is an almost daily occurrence.



LÈSE MAJESTÉ

David Horovitz
London

APART FROM insinuating all manner of problems between Charles and Diana, the popular press — the *Sun*, *Mirror*, *Star* and *News of the World* — regularly describe Charles as the "legendary royal skink" or the "penny-pinching prince" because of his alleged poor treatment of tenants on his sprawling Duchy of Cornwall estate in Kennington.

"A Loon Again" screamed a headline when Charles left his family to experience life with the inhabitants of a remote Hebridean island: they labelled him a crank when he admitted to talking to his plants.

In short, Charles has been branded as a pitiful figure who cannot hold on to his much younger

wife, while Diana is shown as a giggly flirt with expensive taste and little in the way of intelligence.

Understandably, the Queen is reported to be somewhat concerned by this turn of events, for royalty is fast becoming a laughing-stock, an institution to be mocked, not looked up to.

In the early days of the Charles and Di romance, Buckingham Palace went to great lengths to keep the couple out of the limelight, a battle that, faced by the relentless

hordes of papparazzi, proved hopeless.

Accepting that the glare of the cameras is unavoidable, the Queen has tried to calm down her young descendants, hoping to give the columnists rather less in the way of ammunition.

Unfortunately, her efforts have only brought more headlines: "Queen raps royal jokers," "Queen reads riot act to Diana and Fergie," etc.

OTHER members of the royal family, indeed, appear to have contributed somewhat to their own downfall.

Prince Phillip made a historic gaffe during the state visit to China by

warning British students that they'd get "slitty eyes" if they stayed too long in Peking.

Prince Edward made himself some enemies when he castigated reporters for not sufficiently applauding his efforts to raise money for charity by organizing a royal *It's a Knockout* TV contest, in which Fergie, Princess Anne and Prince Andrew engaged in all manner of silly games that further exploded any lingering myth of royal dignity.

Fergie spent a day at the Ascot races poking young men in the backside with her umbrella and wolf-whistling the Duchess of Kent.

The tales of royal high jinks are innumerable, and the press seems to get hold of at least one new story a day. As *The Sunday Times* put it recently, "the royal family has become so used to being treated like a soap opera by large sections of the media, that some of its members are beginning to act as if they are in one."

THE implications of the royals' fall from grace are grave. Since World War II, the monarchy has enjoyed unprecedented popularity, largely as a result of the Queen's intelligent conduct. She has kept the monarchy in the public eye but has also somehow managed to maintain its mystique, winning the respect of her subjects by virtue of her calm, her dignity, her regality.

As for her children, Charles and Anne, at least, are a credit to her, and Charles would undoubtedly make a good king. He is thoughtful, sensitive and intelligent, but he does appear as a slightly pathetic figure, without a job or a purpose in life, waiting out the years until his mother's abdication or death.

If the royal family is to retain its unique place in British society, its younger members will surely have to stop feeding Fleet Street editors with headline stories.

Charity work is indeed admirable, but Princess Anne's efforts for the Save the Children organization seems rather more fitting than Edward's clowning in the mud. Twanging the Portuguese president's braces at a public banquet might be cute, but Diana would be well advised not to repeat the trick, or the British public might just start wondering why it is shelling out something approaching £80 million a year on the crown.

Undoubtedly the royal family gives good value for money. It brings in millions in tourism, and billions in export orders following state visits. But Fleet Street is trying to burst the royal bubble, to demystify royalty and bring the Windsors down to earth with the rest of us — a position in which they would have little purpose.

This leaves the Queen with quite a battle: to put her house in order, frustrate the editors, and preserve royalty in the face of a very real challenge.



"The days are over when all a fighter needs in battle are a rifle..." (Umpix)

No room at the top for China's old heroes

Jonathan Mirsky reports on the shake-up in the People's Liberation Army



Deng Xiaoping

LONDON: — Deng Xiaoping has once again displayed his supreme authority over every aspect of Chinese life by ordering the retirement of 34 senior army commanders.

These men are ideological traditionalists, unfriendly to the decentralising reforms of the last six years. In removing them from public life, Deng continues to balance reformist and conservative factions during a shaky political period in Peking.

Some of the retired officers have had careers going back 50 years to the Long March of 1934-35 — in which Deng also participated — or to the anti-Japanese war of the late 30s and 40s. All 34 held ranks of army commander or higher in the Peking Military Region, one of the country's seven military divisions.

As chairman of China's two supreme military commissions, Deng was able to secure the removal of men who have been his close comrades for half a century. Some of them may have had played a part in guaranteeing Deng's survival during his two periods of disgrace and internal exile during the cultural revolution.

But in fact the People's Liberation Army has lost the enormous prestige it had in the days when Mao referred to it as "a great school" and peasant boys longed to enlist. During the cultural revolution, army elements took sides in the factional struggles.

The real blow to the PLA's reputation came during the 1979 war against Vietnam when it lost 26,000 dead in less than three weeks, retiring from the battlefield without one significant victory. The army was embarrassed by its inability to crush the Vietnamese, battle-hardened from years of combat against the French and Americans. PLA officials

admitted that they had gone into action with maps dating back to the pre-1911 Manchurian dynasty.

Thereafter Deng, who had built his own reputation as an army commander during the guerrilla years, set about reforming the forces. "The days are over," he declared, "when all a fighter needs in battle are a rifle, a grenade, and a bag of grain." In 1985, at a military review, Deng was reported to have said of himself: "The fact that an 82-year-old man is reviewing army units is a shortcoming."

The number of military regions has been cut from 11 to seven; in some, 50 per cent of the staff officers were retired, together with 25 per cent of the central military headquarters. It is now claimed that in the last three years one million men have been trimmed from the army, which now numbers about three million.

The PLA's share of total government spending has been reduced from 15 per cent in 1978 to 10.5 per cent in 1985. The army's share of the Gross National Product — not more than 8 per cent — is roughly half the Soviet figure.

Military academies have been established; there are now 100. No officer can be commissioned who has not graduated from one of them.

The old guard army commanders, many of them poorly-educated and of peasant origin, have made little secret of their discontent with the new emphasis on youth and technological expertise.

But by removing 34 old heroes now, Deng is serving notice to the conservatives that at this October's party congress, when China's course is set for the next five years, it is he who will make the decisions on who stays in the leadership and who is to go.

(London Observer Service)

Swiss up in arms over scrap-army move

GENEVA (AP). — The Swiss are up in arms over what they view as a broadside against their citizens' army from neighbouring West Germany.

The West German television film, *The Dream of Slaughtering the Holy Cow*, dealt with a left-wing proposal to disband the 650,000-man force in neutral Switzerland.

The broadcast early this month on a West German channel received in most of Switzerland stirred public protests and a government statement branding the report "propaganda."

The film traced the anti-army "people's initiative" from the origins of the campaign to the handing over to the federal chancellery of 113,000 supporting signatures, enough under the Swiss system of direct democracy to force a national referendum.

The proposal, which will be put to voters in three years, aims to replace all references to defence in the federal constitution with the sentence "Switzerland has no army" and add

an amendment prohibiting military training.

Proponents of the proposal include prominent Swiss authors Friedrich Dürrenmatt and Max Frisch, who made brief appearances in the film.

Most observers say the proposal is headed for a lopsided defeat in the country where the military has deep historical roots. The Swiss reserve has not fought in a foreign war for five centuries but is thought to be one of the world's best trained, most highly motivated armies.

"SWITZERLAND has no army, it is an army," is an oft-repeated phrase. In relation to its population, Switzerland has an army second only in size to that of Israel. Every reservist between the ages of 20 and 50 keeps his assault rifle at home, permitting full mobilization within 48 hours. The Swiss Alps are honeycombed with fortresses, bunkers and underground supply depots.

Switzerland is also the only Western European country where conscientious objectors are still sent to jail, although criticism from church and human rights groups have prompted a plan to liberalize the draft law.

The West German report was authored by Roman Bormann, 67, a

Swiss national who also was one of the early backers of the proposal to abolish the army. Most Swiss critics agreed that it was not one of the best among his nearly 100 films for West German television. But, the uproar it created in Switzerland was unparalleled.

"German TV — A Frontal Attack on the Swiss Army," was the banner headline in *Blick*, the country's top-circulating tabloid. A prominent member of the Conservative Radical Party, Jean-Pierre Bonny, called it an "unfriendly act."

In a statement read to Parliament, Defence Minister Arnold Koller said it was "incomprehensible" that West German television would broadcast "propaganda" for the anti-army proposal.

He voiced special regret that "prominent" citizens helped spread "blatant falsehoods" through the film — a reference to statements by Dürrenmatt and Frisch.

Dürrenmatt had questioned whether the Swiss army played any real role in World War II when the country was surrounded by Nazi armies. Frisch had described the army as a "bodyguard of the bourgeoisie," saying it has opened fire only twice this century — against workers during a 1918 general strike

and against anti-fascist demonstrators in 1932, claiming more than a dozen lives.

Historians, however, credit the army with shooting down at least nine German Luftwaffe planes that violated Swiss airspace during World War II.

The Swiss news media widely viewed the government's response to the film as overreaction. Several newspapers recalled Iran's recent reprisals against Bonn in protest against a German TV satire of the Ayatollah Khomeini.

"We risk exposing ourselves to international ridicule," commented *Der Bund* of Bern, which is editorially independent.

However, the Swiss public was overwhelmingly critical of the film and the fact that it was a West German broadcast added to the furor. Opinion surveys show that the Swiss rate West Germans their least-liked neighbours.

A French TV film sympathetic to the Swiss army that was aired after the West German production did little to calm the protests. The film said in effect that the army makes Switzerland virtually invincible even in the nuclear age, though the conservative *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* said this was overstated.

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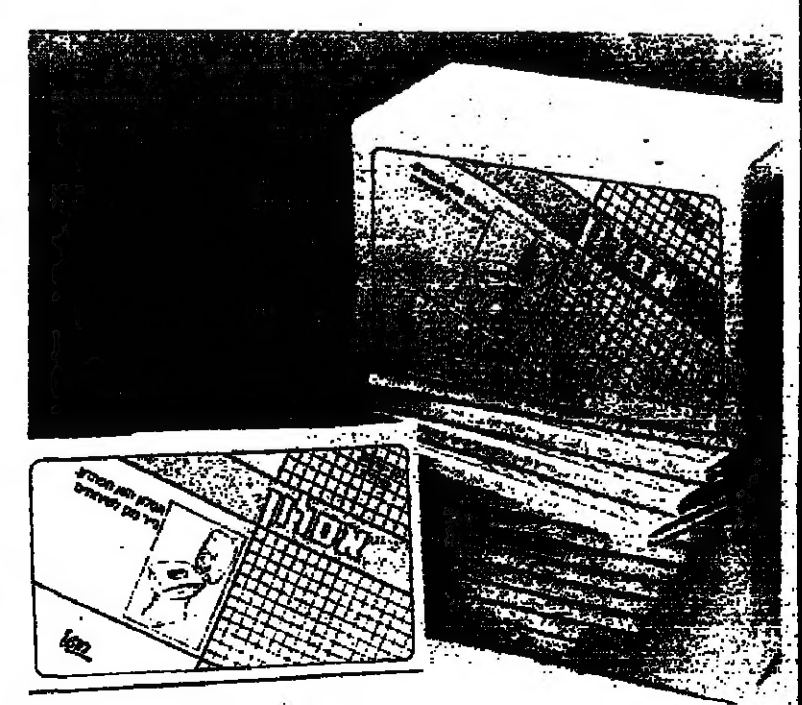
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An open letter to Colonel Gaddafi

'But you, like all the governors of the new Arab world, wanted to wash the Jews out of your social fabric. In doing so, you've ruined its fibres...'



CERTAIN COUNTRIES are ill-loved by history. Burdened with a miserable present, they are not even able to offer their peoples the consolation of a glorious past. They're even unable to capitalize on their misfortunes, to transform outrages suffered into legends. Countries that, having no rivers to bless their lands, no heroes to defend them, no poets to sing their praises, are afflicted by a chronic anonymity.

My native country is one of them. For 2,000 years, before oil and a tyrant jointly made it famous, this vast territory was no more than sand-dunes. It was nothing: an immemorial station where no epic train ever deigned to stop; a void, a suffocating and torrid punishment, separating Egypt from Tunisia.

Even though the influx of petrodollars has allowed it to move from obscurity to obscurantism, in the eyes of the world, this country is still today the antechamber of the pyramids and, culturally speaking, the poor relative of Islam.

Colonel Gaddafi knows all this. In fact, he knows it so well that, after importing the best architects from the West to plan audacious projects in that gigantic plate of sand, he tried to grab a share of his neighbours' history, with pathetically insistent proposals of marriage that were generally refused, or followed by instant divorce.

Give in to the evidence, dear colonel. Neither your handsome rogue's face, nor the glamour of your oil wells, nor the trails of your "Mirages" in skies that are not yours — not even your seed-bed of terrorists — capture the attention of our distracted world for very long. Some evil centrifugal force evaporates the profits you make from your misdeeds, like the water in your "wadis" and prevents your peripheral position from becoming central. In spite of your efforts, this country stays as faceless as your cutthroats, and as voiceless as the past.

You dream of being Nasser's heir, of adding a new chapter, bearing your name, to the Great Book of Islam. But Allah is great, dear cousin, and in the immensity of his wisdom, he must already have decided that your country, which once was mine, might better deserve the exalted role of flyleaf.

The only hitch is that all the peoples who have lived there throughout the centuries have experienced the same fate, have been "cancelled out," starting with the ethnic or religious minorities, the Berbers, Christians and the Jews, whom you would call *dhimmi*, that is, "protected" citizens. A subtle euphemism for hostages awaiting conversion.

OUR HISTORY has been negated

and buried for so many centuries that without the splendid book by the historian Renzo De Felice entitled: *Jews in an Arab country*, willed with an almost mystical tenacity by Raffaello Fella, one of our brothers, there would remain no trace of it today, nor memory of it tomorrow. Indeed, like all its sister Jewish communities, after having tasted an exquisite menu of humiliations — massacre Roman-style, Moslem-style, Spanish-style, segregation Maltese-style, Ottoman-style, Nazi-Fascist race-laws and for dessert, post-war pogroms wrought by our Arab cousins under the nose of the long-awaited British liberators — my community was requested to leave the country the morning after the Six Day War.

Everybody had to leave. Everybody but the dead, who were requested to contribute to the revolution with their bones and headstones, which, duly crushed by bulldozers, were used for the foundations of a very important motorway urgently built to connect nothing with nothing and two gigantic hotels for tourists who haven't turned up yet.

And I a Jew without roots or memory, discovered and opened the book and read, on page 41, a census of the Jewish population in Tripoli.

The first in our history, it was carried out by Giuseppe Toledano, head of the community, in 1861. It had, by some miracle, escaped the colonel's bonfires. And in front of my eyes, duly numbered and accounted for, there paraded:

- One chief rabbi.
- 17 rabbis.

• 11 students and then grocers, innkeepers, tailors, butchers, clerks, fortune-tellers, midwives, porters, women and children, the sick and the beggars; in all, 4,500 inhabitants.

Thanks are due to Professor De Felice for this document. In front of me, at last, I had the incontrovertible proof that people with my blood had actually existed, there, between the dunes and the sea, filling, generation after generation, the mythical chasm that separated our father Abraham from my grandfather, also named Abraham. Of course, these were not the poets, mathematicians, philosophers and doctors that embellished the gardens of Moslem Spain and cured the enlightened caliphs' headaches. But they were still my family, or at least, they belonged to the social milieu within which my family, without any conceivable doubt, lived and worked.

So I settled down and copied the list by hand, sure that one of my

relations would sooner or later touch the nib of my pen. And this modest ritual, this silent *kaddish* was all I needed for the steam of memory to condense on my glasses, and it began to rain, at a distance, on that strip of asphalt where my dead ancestors lay prisoners, and it burst open, and a tree emerged, crowned with blossoms, populated by birds.

My family tree, roughly. Who could tell us again about the smell of skins and their shine, in the times when soap was called oil of almonds? The Indian thinness of children, the coal of their glance, that very Arab way of being Jewish that the Jews of Tripoli had?

Prosperous women, or slender, wearing striped silk, colourful, their waists circled by silver squares, their heads wrapped in scarves that slipped down on their shoulders hundreds of times a day, revealing hair as wavy as the sea seen from the balconies. The smell of cumin, pepper, ata and jasmijn, flowers and fevers; spices and sweat; currents of fried- or urine-laden air in the courtyard off that decayed maze of alleyways that was the Hara, our ghetto.

WHO NOW could tell us again about the strictness and charity of our

bearded elders, doctors in law with gnarled hands, horny nails, their skin sapped by time, progenitors of Judaism anchored here, despite themselves, in this land so much loved and all the more despairing because it looked so much like the lost homeland: just as a tear looks like a drop of rain....

The divine monotony of a blue sky; the same triumphant palm trees loaded with their golden ammunition; the same swift sunsets that stained with the blood of the dying sun the *tallitot* of our fathers, gathered together for evening prayers on the balconies; the same star-spangled nights, stars so close that the song of the crickets seemed to be their voice; the same dewy nights, And mother-of-pearl dawns that rose after our old people had already awoken, with their eyes turned towards Jerusalem, to give thanks to the Lord for this new day that gave them hope for another and yet another, until the much awaited day of their return to the Promised Land. Marrying, judging, blessing and dying while they waited — never completely giving up, though, because of their children, brought into the world in prodigious numbers ("If I don't make it, they will; if there are lots of them, one will live; if one

lives, he will have children and, in the end, eyes of my blood will light on the Wall.") And their children took over from them and took up the shawl and the Book and got down to living, praying, procreating and dying, while they too, in turn, awaited the departure.

"So what are you complaining about?" the colonel would say, in his tent. "You wanted to leave and we let you leave."

Yes, of course, you even encouraged us to go, stripping the last of our fathers of their rights and properties. Don't worry, though, I'm not writing to you out of homesickness. I'm not one of those poor, unhappy persons who trip off to Tunis for their holidays to relive the childhood they spent in Tripoli.

Because if there's one thing I refuse to accept, it's the catastrophic illusion of resemblance, that tiny yet head-spinning distance that separates the tear from the drop of rain. Just as, when you're lost in a *souk*, you look for your mother, see her, shout her name, she turns round and it's not her. When I shout, she turns and it's always her — Jerusalem. And when I want to go there, I go.

IF I'M writing to you at all, dear cousin, it's to tell you that this com-

munity of ours is very much alive. It's growing and prospering. It's made a new life for itself, "*al hamdu lillah*" because after it lost everything, it had no choice but to press forward. We're like bees, colonel. If the lord of the farm steals our honey in September, we make haste to make more, before winter sets in, and if we go on stinging you with our claims for damages, it's more out of dignity than out of interest, to remind you of your debt, but above all, of your loss. We are producers of goods, material and moral, and you know that we always have been because we're not afraid of work, because, for us, work has never been a punishment, but a blessing.

The proof: after just a month in the Italian refugee camps in Latina and Capua, our people left the hovels and set off in search of work and Italy, which gave us shelter and citizenship and thought it was giving us charity, but soon realized that it had made a good investment.

But you, like all the governors of the new Arab world, wanted to wash the Jews out of your social fabric. In doing so, you've ruined its fibres: trade, craft, farming, the professions, everything has come loose and has been swept away. Sand and all the experience you purchase in the West will never replace the ancient experience that we had, we, the Jews, whose vocation has always been communication: between men, thoughts, races, states and civilizations. That same vocation contributed to the grandeur of Islam, of the Russian empire, of the Ottoman empire, to the cultural splendour of pre-Nazi Germany and you could have made it yours, if you'd only wanted to.

Just think, dear cousin. Even an artist was born on that slice of hell you rule. With the inexplicable, almost perverse love that Jews have for the lands that adopt them, he could have made wings for your kings, for your heroes, for your saints and martyrs and sent them off to tell the world that your country exists. He could have sung the praises of that desert of yours, with words that would have made the sand you have in place of a heart full like the petals of a rose.

But Allah, who is great and sees far, desired to have us depart, so that I could go off and carve my woods and stones below other skies and so that your nation could go on, as in the past, with its exciting task, to fulfil its role as the blank flyleaf of the Great Book of Islam.

Shalom Ve'Salam
HERBERT AVRAHAM
HAGGAG PAGANI

The writer, born in Libya, is a well-known artist and writer now living in Rome. This letter was presented at the first International Convention of Jews from Libya which took place in June.

OVER THE PAST fortnight, interest in the fate of the Westerners kidnapped in Beirut has centred on Charles Glass, the U.S. journalist who was snatched on June 17. Two days ago, the spotlight was switched for a short time to Terry Waite, the archbishop of Canterbury's emissary who disappeared in January, and two Americans, Terry Anderson and Thomas Sutherland. Britain's Independent Television News reported that these three had been moved to the Iranian city of Qom. Nothing further has yet been heard of that highly dramatic story.

A good deal was heard about the probable effects of their incarceration, however, at a recent conference in Dublin sponsored by Amnesty International, where medical researchers expressed the belief that the hostages would by now be suffering from what is termed "psychic out stress" — a special kind of emotional draining associated with being held in captivity for no crime.

The symptoms were defined as depression, insomnia, anxiety, startle responses and physical illness.

An American professor of psychiatry, Robert Jay Lifton of Yale University, told the conference

that he has identified severe post-trauma in hostages that is often as shattering as the experience of being held in captivity.

Lifton was among a handful of doctors the U.S. government allowed in the 1960s to study thousands of American veterans of the Korean War who had been brainwashed. Judging from the video tapes he has come to the cautious conclusion that the Beirut hostages may have undergone a similar trauma.

Dr. Glenn van Warreby, professor of psychology at Broome College in Pennsylvania, argued that his clinical experience shows that post-event trauma could be particularly severe in men like Waite.

"Sweating it out in Beirut, a hostage can only think of hours ahead, maybe only minutes. His situation does not allow for long-term planning. A man like Waite knows he could die any moment. Then, when he is freed, the public relief — and spotlight — is intense. But once the last interview is over, and it must be said that the media interest functions as a distraction — the reality of his experience is still there. This is when a man like Waite could begin to feel he has been let down in captivity by those very elements that now sustain him — his psychological strength and religious convictions."

Sobering confirmation of what life can be like after being a hostage came from Rudolph Paulkevitch, a leading Lebanese Christian politician who was held captive for nine days in 1985. He admitted at the conference that he still wakes up screaming or breaks into uncontroll-

able tears at the recollection of being left most of the time in total darkness.

Many doctors are beginning to question the now standard scenario when a foreign hostage is released in Beirut: being flown to the U.S. military hospital in Wiesbaden, West Germany, and given a medical check-over before being paraded, for the waiting media circus, on the hospital balcony, usually with tearful relatives in tow.

Dr. van Warreby believes such exposure so soon after captivity only increases post-stress trauma. He said there must be an interim period away from publicity so that released hostages can live out their experiences in a carefully-controlled environment during which they can be counselled on how to try to put the Beirut experience into some sort of healthy perspective. Only then, if they wish it, should they be available to the media.

A GRAPHIC insight into what it must now be like to be incarcerated in Beirut has come from Noel Walsh, professor of clinical psychiatry at University College, Dublin. He has produced a pioneer study of terrorist-related violence, closely studying the post-trauma stress on victims of Irish armed robberies, some of whom were briefly held captive during the incidents.

His conclusions caused considerable interest at the World Congress of Social Psychiatry in Rio de Janeiro last November. He reported that:

"Forced passivity and surrender in these situations appears to provoke

Hostages to fate

Severe post-trauma in hostages is often as shattering as the experience of being held in captivity, writes Gordon Thomas.

unconscious castration fears and latent homosexual anxieties. The aggressive invasion of the individual's body space, the disruption of his sense of autonomy and the overwhelming of his 'protective shield' (sense of invulnerability), combined with the symbolism of 'the gun' add up to a powerful and complex challenge to the integrity of 'the self'."

Walsh said that Lifton's considerable clinical experience with the brainwashed Korean veterans revealed a common "psychic numbing," i.e. a diminished capacity to feel, a shutting-down of the mind's usual responses.

Walsh believes this is probably the only defence open to a victim of terrorism against feelings of fear, guilt and anger.

RESEARCH LIKE this is part of a wider behaviour study into the effects of what Dr. van Warreby called "psychic-out stress," which

can be increasingly observed in the Lebanon, Latin America and Northern Ireland.

"What we are now beginning to see are the long-term effects of being kidnapped," he told the Dublin conference. "Ten years ago kidnapping was usually confined to a small part of Italy. Today it is common in a dozen countries. There have been more kidnappings in the past five years than in the past 50 years. Once it was for money. Now it is for political barter for, say, the freedom of imprisoned terrorists. The changing face of kidnapping has led to new stress upon those held hostage."

Among the changes van Warreby listed are: the constant use of video recordings to bring the anguished faces and voices of hostages regularly to world attention; hostages used to relay the extreme political views of their captors; hostages exposed to medical torture — drugging and intense psychological pressure; hostages being held captive for long periods in virtual war zones like Beirut.

According to Professor Lifton, hostages who have been freed often experience a sense of regret that they are free — while others remain in captivity. In that reaction they are rather similar to the survivors of such man-made horrors as Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or more recently, Chernobyl.

Soviet psychiatrists working with the survivors of the melt-down have reported what Lifton has called "a death imprint," itself created by a clinical condition he has named "failed enactment."

In a hostage, this manifests itself

in the aftermath of captivity, when feelings of guilt and self-condemnation emerge, with the hostage actually berating himself for being captured.

This can be a difficult condition to treat, even by the most skilled psychotherapy. In Italy, there are still kidnap victims being clinically coaxed to give up their guilt.

THE PROBLEM of leading back a hostage to normality is further complicated by what Dr. van Warreby has identified as "the morning-after syndrome."

He discovered this during his work with the crew who dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima. Over a number of years he studied them for evidence of stress. He made the not altogether surprising discovery that the way many of them cope is to blot out the reality of what they did.

"What they do find more difficult to cope with is that they are no longer the constant focus of media

attention. They now only attract reporters around the August anniversary. The crew are back where each of them was before the Hiroshima experience. But with one difference. In the post-Hiroshima period they were the first heroes of the atomic age. Then they faded from the public eye. Fame, of a kind, has scarred them deeply. Now we are beginning to detect similar signs in the first freed hostages. The more they say they want to live in obscurity, the more they miss the excitement of appearing on breakfast TV as a living witness."

Dr. van Warreby thought that even Terry Waite — already a celebrity before he was taken hostage — would need unusual resilience to cope with that situation.

Yet all those engaged in stress studies agreed with Professor Lifton that those who recovered best from captivity tend to "believe in themselves, in their dreams, in their country and in God."

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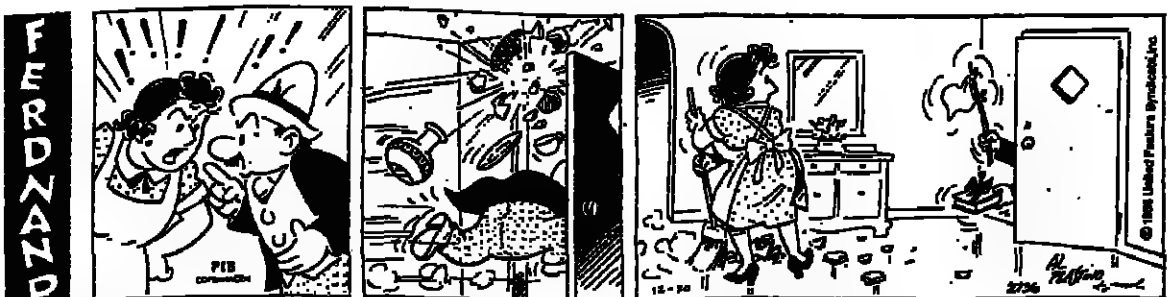
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Full day excursion — Thursday, July 16
Guest speaker and reception, Wednesday evening, July 15
Session II July 26-30, 1987 Classes 8:30 a.m.-12:15 p.m.
Prof. Shalom Paul — "A Study of the Book of Jonah"
Prof. Avigdor Shinan — "The Liturgy of the Yamim Noraim"
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WALDHEIM

(Continued from Page One)

peace conference. "Any fair settlement must also take into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people," he added.

Hussein, in an interview with the Austrian *Kronenzeitung* newspaper on Wednesday, praised the Soviet Union and said it should have a role in the Middle East peace process.

Hussein also vowed that his country would never again ask the United States for arms after the Reagan administration backed out of a \$1.9 billion arms deal due to overwhelming opposition from Congress.

Waldheim yesterday also visited the martyrs' monument in Amman honouring Jordanian soldiers who died in the 1948 and 1967 wars with Israel, and watered an olive "tree of life."

French Nazi hunter Karsfeld, dressed in a T-shirt saying "Waldheim Must Go," had planned to confront Waldheim at the monument, but was removed by police before he arrived.

She said security men took her to a police station, and then brought her back to her hotel and searched her room. Karsfeld said they confiscated reports implicating Waldheim in World War II crimes.

Egypt's press also has criticized the controversy over Waldheim's visit to Jordan. Al-Ahram this week charged Waldheim's Jewish critics with making noise and creating a scandal over the Jordan trip for no reason.

Egypt has invited Waldheim to visit, and diplomatic sources in Cairo expect him to make the trip.

PM OFFICE

(Continued from Page One)

heard a word from anyone about the appointment."

Wallach, a Tel Aviv University military historian, said that he would decide whether to join the panel "when we reach that bridge."

Wallach said that he and the commission chairman, Prof. Emeritus Rudolf Kurz of Bern University, Switzerland, "know each other." But he said that the first he learned of his possible appointment to the panel was from a report last week in an Austrian newspaper, which names him as the prospective Israeli member.

Wallach, whose expertise is military theory, is familiar with modern Eastern European history and knows German. In 1948 he served as a battalion commander in the IDF Givati Brigade. In 1956 he was a brigade commander, retiring from the army with the rank of aluf mishne (colonel).

EGGED

(Continued from Page One)

about a metre from the curb, pulled away. Passengers told the driver to stop, but before he could respond, Mizrahi fell from the bus and her right arm and leg were caught under a wheel. He has denied that he left the stop with his doors open, suggesting that the girl had fallen in the street after getting off the bus.

Bleeding profusely, she was taken by a passing car to Magen David Adom and then to Hadassah-University Hospital, where she received a skin transplant and treatment for fractures. Her father, Mordechai, said it was a miracle that she had not been killed.

The driver's licence was suspended pending the police investigation, which is now being conducted.

NBC FILM

(Continued from Page One)

A spokesman for the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee, Faris Bouhafs, called it "a breakthrough in network presentation of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict," and said that the Palestinian viewpoint had been presented "with extraordinary accuracy."

Paul Greenberg, the director of the documentary, said he had chosen not to include an official Israeli statement on the grounds that "government spokesmen always say the same things."

Greenberg suggested that the American Jewish community "should pay attention to the programme and think, because the situation really exists. To deny it and say it will go away is like ignoring a cancer in your own body."

WIMBLEDON 1987

Vintage victories for Graf, Martina

WIMBLEDON (AP). — Martina Navratilova and Steffi Graf yesterday moved into the women's final at Wimbledon with a pair of vintage victories on centre court.

Navratilova, the defending champion and No. 1 seed, mixed steady baseline play with her usual serve-and-volley power game and threw in a dash of acrobatics to beat Chris Evert 6-2, 5-7, 6-4.

It was the 73rd time the Americans had met, and Navratilova said it "might have been the best match we've ever played."

Graf, the 18-year-old second seed from West Germany who beat Navratilova for the French Open title a month ago, scored her biggest grass-court victory so far, 6-0, 6-2 over fifth-seeded American Pam Shriver.

In the men's semifinals today, second-seeded Ivan Lendl will play fourth-seeded Stefan Edberg of Sweden, while the surprise of the tournament, 34-year-old Jimmy Connors of the United States, will take his No. 7 seeding against 11th-seeded Pat Cash of Australia.

Whenever she has previously reached the championship match on Wimbledon's grass courts, Navratilova has won the crown.

If she maintains that practice in Saturday's title match, the American left-hander will have a record sixth consecutive championship and record-equaling eighth overall, as well as her first tournament victory of a relatively disappointing year.

Navratilova's victory was her 39th in the rivalry that stretches back to 1973 in a first-round match in Akron, Ohio. The last time they met was on the clay courts of Paris, and Navratilova won that semifinal as well. 6-2, 6-2, to end Evert's two-year reign, as French Open champion.

This one was much tougher, and when Navratilova saved break point and ended it with a cross-court volley, she skipped in joy.

It still was not the usual grass-court battle of exploding serves and charges to the net. Both players played back for the early going, with Evert, a three-time Wimbledon winner, using her backhand to keep Navratilova out of volleying range.



AGONY OF DEFEAT. — Chris Evert puts on a sour face after missing a crucial shot in her singles semifinal loss to Martina Navratilova, while Pam Shriver gets down to grass level in reaction to her play in losing to Steffi Graf in the other semifinal. Shriver was beaten in straight sets, while Evert lost only after stretching her long-time rival to three sets in what Navratilova described as the best of their 73 matches.

But Navratilova had the bigger game from the baseline, too, and broke for a 4-2 lead in the first set with passing shots and cross-court volleys.

Evert appeared ready to break back in the seventh game but Navratilova held with the help of a shot that would have made two-time men's champion Boris Becker proud.

Evert slammed a forehand volley toward the net and Navratilova's backhand. The shot was perfect, landing just inches inside the line and hitting Evert.

But Navratilova ran it down and, with a flick of her wrist, sent the ball back cross-court for a winner as the drive into a forward volley.

Another bit of acrobatics could not save the second set as Evert broke in the 12th game on a rare Navratilova error.

The third set opened with Navratilova breaking serve on a forehand net cord and holding for a 3-0 lead in two games of brilliant grass-court rallies, one and then the other player moving her opponent back and forth, up and back.

Navratilova always had the last word. They held serve from there, with Evert winning her second game added by a smash volley that underscored the many hours they have spent on opposite sides of a tennis net.

An exchange of volleys had Navratilova lobbed on her backhand side and Evert facing an open court. Rather than go that way, though, Evert slammed the ball down at Navratilova's feet, then pointed to the opposite service area as if to say, "I know you thought I was going there."

The two arch-rivals and close friends looked on in disbelief, and Navratilova used her racket as an impromptu stool while she considered the moment with a shake of the head.

Navratilova saved break point with a service winner, moved to inside point where Evert used a service return long and wrapped it up with an open-court backhand volley.

Graf said after taking the French Open for her first Grand Prix tournament victory that she was not yet ready to win Wimbledon. Now, with her winning streak reaching 45 matches when Shriver netted a return on the third match point, she has a chance in tomorrow's final to



AGONY OF DEFEAT. — Chris Evert puts on a sour face after missing a crucial shot in her singles semifinal loss to Martina Navratilova, while Pam Shriver gets down to grass level in reaction to her play in losing to Steffi Graf in the other semifinal. Shriver was beaten in straight sets, while Evert lost only after stretching her long-time rival to three sets in what Navratilova described as the best of their 73 matches.

take her eighth tournament in a row and keep Navratilova from making history on the surface she likes best.

Graf started her winning streak on indoor courts in January, then moved to Europe's outdoor clay and kept winning with a powerful backhand and a slicing backhand.

Navratilova, Graf showed both parts of her rapidly developing arsenal.

Shriver, who needed three grueling sets to win her fourth-round and quarterfinal matches, did not play badly. She was in position for shots and served well, but Graf always found the opening for winners.

Graf served with backhands and forehands from the baseline, charged the net behind her serve for putaway volleys and took advantage of Shriver's mistakes to win in 51 minutes before a centre court crowd that included Britain's Prince Diana.

Graf's domination of Shriver, the second set of which was watched by Navratilova, provided further evidence that she is emerging as an all-court player rather than just a baseline sensation.

Shriver, who of the best returners of serve in the women's game, led her one hour, 15 minutes, 15 seconds match with her powerful backhand, struggling to live with the number two seed.

Graf surrendered a mere 11 points, two in each game, in that one-sided opening set which was remarkable for the variety and frequency of the West German's spectacular winners.

In the first game of the second set and after 23 minutes, Shriver finally matched her first success on her fourth game point when Graf's backhand forehand for once failed. As she walked toward the net to claim the tie-break, the champion, the American dashed an ironic victory.

Shriver got up but never broke right at the net and when she served two match points to pull back from 40-15 in the eighth game. On the third match point, though, Graf's angled serve to the American's backhand was returned harmlessly up the net.

After her loss, Shriver said she thought her backhand doubles partner, defending Wimbledon champion Navratilova, will pose a tougher challenge to Graf in tomorrow's final.

"Martina has some things I don't have," she said. "She's able to hit the ball faster than I can. She's a left-hander so she'll serve to the backhand. That will be good."

"If she plays percentage tennis and plays her usual good grass court game, she'll win. But she'll have to play smart. She can't get frustrated. Steffi is very confident and she's serving well."

Graf's victory was her 46th in a row and positioned her to take the No. 1 computer ranking from Navratilova if she can win tomorrow's match.

"Right now, if you asked people, I think it's about 50-50," Shriver said. "But it's the feeling. You've got to give the benefit to the challenger without a real hardship."

For her part, Shriver seemed somewhat eased with the heading she had suffered against Graf. "I was overwhelmed by her sheer power," she said. "I can't believe someone 18-years-old is that strong. There's something there that's special. The ball comes off her racket with unbelievable force."

YOUTH BASEBALL

By JACK LEON

The London-based International Tennis Federation yesterday awarded Shimon Glickstein its "award of merit" for service to the game. Glickstein, 29, receives the honour in recognition of a highly successful decade of competition in Davis Cup competition, during which he has played in well over 50 singles and doubles rubbers.

Glickstein is only the third Israeli to receive the coveted ITF award, following long-time Tennis Association chairman Avram Feiger and Mordechai Mayer, the association's present chairman.

Meanwhile, Israel today hosts host-nation Spain on clay in Madrid in first-round play in the sixth girls' under-14 Europa Cup International tennis tournament. The winner then faces either Portugal or Czechoslovakia for a place in the final round in Belgium.

Israel's team members are Daniel Blau, Liora Zif, Roni Mayer (Mordechai Mayer's grand-daughter), Zvi Oster and Chani Kishit. No Chaviv is coach.

ATHLETICS

2nd fastest mile

HELSINKI (AP). — Said Aouita of Morocco ran the second fastest mile in history at yesterday's world games IAAF Mobil Grand Prix track meet, winning the featured event in 3 minutes, 46.76 seconds.

It was a new national and African record. Aouita, who took the lead for good with one lap left after the second pace-maker dropped out, missed Briton Steve Cram's world record by just 44 hundredths of a second. Cram set the mile record of 3:46.32 almost two years ago in Oslo, Norway.

Moroccan runner Said Aouita was runner-up in 3:55.67.

Sydney Maes, the American record holder in the 1,500, 2,000 and 5,000 metres, finished third in 3:55.39.

Maes, 34, is a member of the American record holder in the 1,500, 2,000 and 5,000 metres, finished third in 3:55.39.

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BASEBALL

Reuss relies on craft for success in A.L.

NEW YORK (AP). — If there's life after the National League, Jerry Reuss certainly has found it.

"He (Reuss) used to be a power pitcher," Cleveland manager Pat Corrales said after a 10-5 loss to Reuss and the California Angels on Wednesday night. "Now he's tricking people. That's what happens when you get older."

With the victory, the 38-year-old left-hander who had spent all of his career in the NL kept his record perfect in the American League. He is 3-0 since signing with the Angels on June 19.

"Here, I'm getting a lot of runs and a lot of breaks," said Reuss, who was 0-5 in the National League this year before the Cincinnati Reds released him on June 13.

Reuss allowed four runs, three of them earned, on seven hits in five innings, walking none and striking out four. Dewayne State pitched four scoreless innings for his seventh save.

Deron White singled twice, doubled and homered, scoring four times and driving in three runs for the Angels, who won for the sixth time in 10 games. Cleveland have lost nine of 11.

Wednesday's Game: New York 6, Toronto 1, 12 innings; Milwaukee 13, Detroit 2; Chicago 5, Oakland 3, 10 innings; Boston 6, Baltimore 2; California 10, Cleveland 5; Kansas City 4, Minnesota 3; Texas 7, Seattle 3.

Wednesday's Game: Atlanta 8, San Francisco 2; Chicago 3, Montreal 6; Cleveland 6, Houston 4; New York 5, St. Louis 6; Philadelphia 11, Pittsburgh 4; San Diego 4, Los Angeles 6.

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TAKE COVER. — New York's Dave Winfield, who has Toronto pitchers looking for a safe place to hide after leading the Yankees to a three-game sweep of the Blue Jays, had Toronto fans scrambling for cover from a foul drive into the 3rd base stands.

AMERICAN LEAGUE EAST					NATIONAL LEAGUE EAST				
	W	L	Pct.	GB		W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	49	29	.428	—	St. Louis	46	33	.379	—
Toronto	41	37	.323	8	New York	41	38	.519	—
Detroit	41	33	.554	0	Montreal	40	36	.526	0 1/2
Milwaukee	38	36	.514	3	Chicago	41	37	.526	0 1/2
Baltimore	38	39	.494	10 1/2	Philadelphia	36	39	.480	10
Baltimore	31	47	.397	18	Pittsburgh	34	43	.442	13
Cleveland	26	50	.342	23					

vindicated.

In his capacity as deputy under secretary of defence for planning and resources, Zakheim had been charged with the Pentagon task of investigating the feasibility of the Lavi and strongly argued that the project was not economically viable.

Zakheim, an Orthodox Jew who is Oxford-educated, refused to gloat over the momentum to jettison the project. He would only say about Defence Ministry officials who had

CRICKET

England humbled

LEEDS (AP). — A bantling in the century on his debut by David Cap failed to prevent England crumbling to a misery 136 all out against Pakistan on the opening day of the third Test at Headingley yesterday.

FEATURES

The Torah portion for this week is Hukat (Numbers 19:1-22:1). The Haftara is from Judges (11:1-33).

AT FIRST GLANCE, one would think that the story as told in the Torah is over and done with. It would take many more decades, as shown by the reading of the Haftara assigned to complete the Torah reading, to find out that what was thought to be a *fait accompli* was, in fact, not so. Some wars may reach a point of "cease fire," they may indeed rest for a while, and then, suddenly, they erupt again.

A people living in its own land, surrounded by neighbors who at one time were violently hostile towards its existence, would surely welcome any prospect of non-fighting, even if only temporary. It would do everything possible to maintain peaceful relations with its neighbors, but at the same time would not let itself be lulled into the false notion that if there is a chance for peace now, it means peace forever. The annals of Israel in the old days, as recounted in the reading of the Torah and Haftara, teach us what seems to be an old (and therefore often ignored!) lesson, that, under certain circumstances, to preserve peace, it is necessary to prepare for war.

The first phase of the story as told in the Torah (Numbers 21:21), occurs towards the end of Israel's sojourn in the wilderness on their way from Egypt to the Promised Land.

Israel sent messengers to Sihon the king of the Amorites: "Let us pass through your country. We will not turn aside into any field or vineyard, or drink water from any well. We will travel along the king's highway until we have passed through your territory." But Sihon would not let Israel pass through its territory.

Without waiting for Israel's reaction to his "no," Sihon rushed to muster his entire army and marched

A war on the way to peace

Tora Today / Pinchas H. Peli

out into the desert against Israel. He fought with Israel, who managed, however, to "put him to the sword" and took over his land from the Arnon to the Jabok...including Heshbon, the city of Sihon, king of the Amorites, who had fought against the former king of Moab and had taken from him all his land as far as the Arnon.

In describing this spectacular victory, the Torah (ibid., 27-30) quotes some of the songs that came out of the war. (Not mentioned are the picture albums commemorating the victory; some agile publishers would surely have not missed the opportunity to cash in on it.)

Tora continues to tell us that Israel settled in the territories which they seized from the Amorites and no one seemed to have protested against it. After all, it was not Israel who initiated the war, and the territories were taken over in self-defense. The conquest of the rest of the land by Joshua followed. Within a short time, Israel was on the map. A factor to be reckoned with in the area.

NOW, TO THE Haftara, the chapter from the Prophets which complements the Tora reading.

Three hundred years (!) passed and the Ammonites crossed the Jordan to fight against Judah, Benjamin and the house of Ephraim; and Israel was "in great distress" (Judges 10:9). The Israelites found themselves at that moment without prop-

er leadership to rebuff the aggressors. Although there had from time to time been skirmishes on the borders, no one anticipated an all-out war and they were not prepared, mentally or physically. In their distress, the elders of Israel pleaded with Jephtha the Gileadite to become their commander, "so we can fight the Ammonites" (ibid., 11:6).

From what the Bible tells us of this man Jephtha, he was no Moses or Joshua. His stature is that of a disreputable rogue and strongman. He was, however, no fool, as we can see from his negotiations in regard to his status after the war, when he would be needed no longer. Only desperate lack of choice forced the elders to yield to his demands.

From the moment Jephtha took command, he was the leader in the full sense of the word. A living proof of the maxim that the position makes the person. After assuming office, Jephtha emerged not only as a great military commander, but also as a shrewd and able diplomat. *Yiphaah b'doro k'shmuah b'doro*, say the talmudic rabbis (TB Rosh Hashana 25b), "Jephtha was to his generation what Samuel was to his." One should not measure leaders with the yardstick of other generations. Jephtha would probably not have made a good leader in the generation of Samuel the prophet, but isn't it also true, perhaps, - said Rabbi Joseph Kahaneman of Ponivezh and Bnei Brak - that Samuel may not have made a good leader in the generation

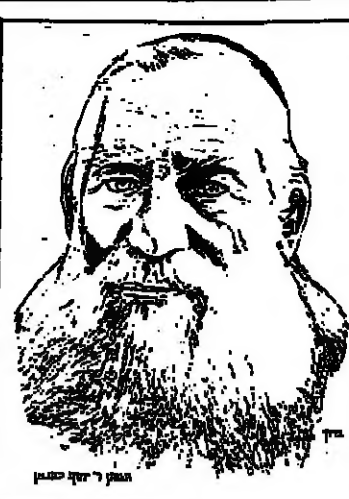
of Jephtha? A generation that needs Jephthas, has no use for Samuels. As soon as Jephtha took over command, he repeated the act of Moses when confronting the enemy. He opened direct talks with the king of the Ammonites, posing a curt and simple question: "What do you want from me? What do you have against us that you have attacked our country?"

The aggressor denied, of course, that he wanted war. Instead, he spoke in the name of historical rights: "When Israel came up out of Egypt, they took away my land from the Arnon to the Jabok, all the way to the Jordan. Now give it back peacefully."

He was ready to offer peace now, in return for territories taken away "only" 300 (to be more exact: 319) years earlier.

Notwithstanding the absurdity of the claim, Jephtha did not put an end to the talks. He sent back a long, magnificently worded message (Judges 11:14-26). It consisted of four main arguments, construed by the famous medieval bible commentator (himself a career diplomat) Don Isaac Abravanel (1437-1508), as representing historical, moral, religious and legal points:

- a) historical: the land our ancestors took was not yours in the first place. They were occupied territories before we occupied them. Sihon seized it from Moab and we took it from Sihon.
- b) moral: Sihon lost the land only after he had flagrantly and without any provocation initiated war against Israel when they came out of Egypt.
- c) religious: the God of Israel gave us the land, as Chemosh your god gave you your land. If there are problems, they must be settled between the gods - Jephtha suggested ironically.
- d) legal: 300 years are a long time and there are laws of limitation which void your claim, as geographical facts have been established



Rabbi Joseph Kahaneman (Baruch)

in the area for so many years.

The drawing-up of the document must have required ample work by lawyers, diplomats and historians, but "the king of Ammon," the Bible tells us, "paid no attention to the message Jephtha sent him."

The war broke out and, against all odds, Israel won.

This could have been the "happy end" of the story, but it was not. Wars, even when won, rarely have happy endings.

Two tragedies loom on the horizon as the war ends. One is the personal tragedy of Jephtha's daughter. Her weeping in the hills bemoaning her lost youth silenced forever the sound of the tambourines of the hero's welcome home. The other tragedy, also a result of the victory, is the rift which broke out between the people of Ephraim and those of Gilead in their arguments over what happened during the war (Judges, ch.12). No fewer than 42,000 of the people of Ephraim, probably more than in the war itself, died in this clash over a senseless *shibboleth* argument.

Rabbi Peli is professor of Jewish thought and literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

Signs of summer

Teleview / Matt Nesvisky

NEIL KLUGMAN, the protagonist of Philip Roth's *Goodbye, Columbus*, could always tell it was summer because his cousin Doris was reading *War and Peace*. One way newspaper readers know when "Summer is i-cumen in" is when their favorite journals, *The Jerusalem Post* not excluded, begin running a preponderance of news photos showing pandas in the Peking zoo, oddball farmers in Iowa who collect massive balls of string, and chefs in Spain making their bid for *The Guinness Book of World Records* by cooking up some dish large enough to feed Madrid and its suburbs.

Another way devoted newspaper readers twig the arrival of summer is by the absence of their favorite by-lines. When those familiar journalistic names are not in their familiar journalistic places, readers will rightly assume that either the censors have frogmarched the malefactor scribbler off for a well-deserved spell in the cooler or, somewhat more common in this country, their favorite journalist has split for a few weeks' summer holidays.

All of which is by way of a long introduction to explain why the inimitable stylist and wit who normally does your Teleview will not be here for a few weeks, and why the chappie who normally fills in for him is also absent, and why this thoroughly unqualified reporter - pinch me, I must be dreaming - is suddenly being paid to watch television.

Not, I think, that it is entirely inappropriate that I - or for that matter anyone else - be paid to watch TV in this country. Like most readers of this august journal, the first thing I do when I get my weekend edition is to whip through the coming week's TV listings. And I am sure I am not alone as I crush the magazine closed and mutter, "Oof, I wouldn't watch that if they paid me."

But of course I will if they will, and wouldn't you? And the truth is, even without remuneration I spend a great deal more time staring at our state-sponsored electronic wallpaper than I really want to.

Yet I called myself thoroughly unqualified as a TV critic, and so I am. The reason is that, when I'm parked in front of the tube, my critical faculties are invariably turned off. More than that - whenever I'm watching TV I feel compelled to justify this wicked idleness by simultaneously doing something more productive: shelling peas, brushing up on *Beowulf*, buffing the samovar, practising isometrics - anything, anything but just sit watching that damned cyclopean source of irritating irradiation.

But I digress. Or, more accurately, since it's at this point that our regular TV reviewer customarily gets around to reviewing TV, I'd better do the same.

FOR ME, the most intriguing offering of the week promised to be the Tuesday afternoon showing on Educational TV of Charlie Chaplin's 1925 classic, *The Gold Rush*. Part of the excitement was the deliciously decadent prospect of loafing in front of the TV - er, I mean, dutifully covering my beat - during daylight hours, while others, heh-heh, toiled beneath the merciless heat of the sun.

The other part was - and this, I realize is a shocking confession - I had never before seen a full-length Charlie Chaplin movie.

I do not know why I have this yawning gap in my cultural constitution, but there it is. Even more incredible, folks, is the fact that until this week I had seen only scraps and bits of Chaplin, and what I had seen I hadn't liked.

What? Breathes there a man who doesn't double over at the sight of the great Chaplin?

Well, yeah. I'm the first to acknowledge that my sense of humor is bent beyond all recognition. But I just never found the sight of the Little Tramp, nor what he did, amusing.

Still, I remained well aware that my perverse opinion was based only on the odd film-clip. Hence I was eager to sit back and enjoy my first full helping of the pioneer genius of celluloid comedy.

But har-har, the joke was on me. My perfect record of having never

seen a Chaplin flick was to remain intact. Because despite the announcer's promise following last week's screening of *Life with Father*, Educational TV disappointed kiddies and TV reviewer alike by pulling the old switcheroo.

In place of the Chaplin classic came a modern Australian product called, I think, *Wild World*, which was all about a Down Under entertainment tycoon (circuses, theme parks, etc.). Within the first seven minutes we got all the major themes: despite Dad's wishes, daughter aspires to be a high-wire artist; lovable but tough old granddaddy and eager but callow younger brother feel thwarted in the boardroom of the entertainment empire; tycoon imports Russian ballet despite protests of young pickets; romance blooms between Russian dancer and aspiring aerialist...

Well, seven minutes was all I would give it. It had all the markings of a well-made if rather busy TV film full of all the tried and tested clichés. With its circus background it was also no doubt perfectly suited for our tender devotees of Educational TV.

And by George, that's really what was wrong with it: it all looked so bloody wholesome. With no Chaplin in sight, I might have accepted something full of mayhem and rapine, which is my usual definition of entertainment. Barring that, I switched off.

ETV DOES NOT, however, earn my unqualified condemnation this week. If only because the previous Thursday afternoon they sneaked in a very pleasant taped concert of Chick Corea's *Elektric Band*.

I'm not sure what the educational aspect of this screening was supposed to be, but it may have had something to do with the fact that the Army Radio was providing a simultaneous stereo sound-track of the concert. The result was rockin' good entertainment, with some fine high-stepping in front of the Pompidou Centre by the IDJ Dancers.

As for the excellent sound, I salute the TV and radio people for their astounding feat of technological coordination. Given the state of our electronic media, I would not have been surprised had the Corea concert been accompanied by the sound-track of the Chaplin movie. I suppose the reason this didn't occur is that silent films by definition don't have soundtracks.

Such peculiar occurrences are not uncommon on Israeli TV, which after all is a pretty peculiar outfit. In what other country, for example, would we find a Friday night TV *Diary* devoting so much time to Book Week? Yet there we were, the whole nation, watching TV while people discussed the merits of reading.

The American satirist Stan Freeberg once proposed that TV should operate only three nights a week; on the other nights, he said, the screens should show a test pattern that says: READ. I always liked the idea, but doubt it will ever be adopted. Yet here I am, writing about TV, and here you are, reading about it. One of us, at least, may have taken a step in the right direction.

On the other hand, as noted at the outset of this article, I am being paid to watch the tube. In addition, I've just been informed that yet another colleague has taken summer leave, and that next week I'll be paid not only to monitor my TV monitor, but to dine out as well.

Have I died and gone to heaven? Can I combine both tasks and review...a TV dinner? Stay tuned.

Casual sex on our televisions

Marcia Kretzmer

LAST WEEK'S much-anticipated *Somersaults* programme on teenage sex left one with a sense of disbelief. It seemed as though we had stepped back in time for this programme, with its anachronistic message of love without fear in the age of the pill, could well have been produced 15 or 20 years ago. For this day and age, the message was not only inauthentic but criminally misleading.

For close on an hour, six young people (including two girls with their respective parents) followed by a gynecologist and a sexologist who answered questions phoned in from viewers, discussed teenagers and sex. And the overwhelming impression gained from this wildly unrepresentative cross-section of the Israeli public was not only that all teenagers were doing it, but that this was entirely acceptable and presented no special problems. The atmosphere, while intended to come across as relaxed, frank and free of complexes, was superficial and all too often degenerated into giggly vulgarity which even Dalik, the likeable presenter with his thoughtful and low-key approach, seemed powerless to prevent.

Leading a full sex life was a badge of maturity as the young people on the panel saw it. Everybody, they agreed could be assumed to be sexually active by the 11th and 12th grade unless they were "on the emotional level of eighth graders."

Incredibly, only three-quarters of an hour into the programme did Aids rear its ugly head - and this in a passing, throwaway reference to sexually transmitted diseases. While associating Aids information inextricably with sex education is probably harmful, there was no excuse for a programme of this type to ignore Aids blithely altogether.

Like teenagers a few decades ago, the fear uppermost on the minds of this generation appeared to be pregnancy. Neither the fear of a sexually transmitted disease nor the moral or social issues connected with teenage sex were raised as subjects

worthy of consideration. The underlying assumption seemed to be that for healthy youngsters from good homes, the fear of disease was remote indeed. And as for any apprehensions concerning a sex life at the age of 17, the issue appeared to be too outmoded and irrelevant to merit discussion.

True, these engaging and articulate teenagers did make all the appropriate noises about "responsibility for one's partner" but there were times when their uncertainty betrayed itself. All agreed that there was a great deal of social pressure to engage in sex, but vowed that they, personally, had not been affected by such pressure.

One wonders how many closet virgins there were among their classmates. It is certainly doubtful that in this kind of atmosphere any of them would have had the guts to defend their own conduct.

One girl admitted that getting hold of contraceptives was "difficult." Pregnancy apparently loomed as such a terrifying hazard that only suicide could provide a way out - a chilling admission indeed from someone who felt herself mature enough for a sex life.

Curiously, parents were mostly seen as too removed from sex in general to be able to discuss the matter with their children. It was hard to bear in mind that these teenagers were the children of the Sixties generation whom, one assumes, must know a thing or two. No one was there to offer an alterna-

tive approach nor to give teenagers who think and behave otherwise the feeling that they might be OK after all.

IF THE programme failed to mirror accurately the real state of the sex lives of the nation's teenagers, it provided nothing whatsoever in the area of basic information. It is most doubtful that the gynecologist chosen to represent his profession (why couldn't they have found a woman?) dispelled the apprehensions of young girls regarding their first gynecological examination.

Sycophantically described as a "model example" by the sexologist who appeared with him, he poured forth a gung ho, jokey patter. Having cleared up misapprehensions about the pill (no, it is not an aspirin held between the legs) he assured his young viewers that, yes, there was life after an internal examination. The good doctor managed to recover himself sufficiently to tell a viewer who phoned in to say her period was two weeks late, that she should consult a gynecologist. He had no hesitation whatsoever in recommending the pill backed up by a condom, to a mass television audience.

What the effect of this programme must have been on a typical cross-section of Israeli households is difficult to fathom. "Aren't they embarrassed to go on television and say all those things?" one teenager asked



me. Another commented: "It's all bluff. None of them would be caught dead admitting they haven't had sex."

Many families and not only "traditional" ones must have felt there was something offensive and false about the way the topic was handled, but there was no one on the programme to state their case. There were one or two helpful remarks made by the sexologist in answer to telephoned questions, but unfortunately the

comments, which could have helped many troubled teenagers, got rather lost among the rest of the nonsense talked on the programme.

In all fairness it should be said that to cover all aspects of the topic adequately as well as providing sound information, is a near impossible undertaking in one television broadcast. This being the case, it probably shouldn't have been attempted at all for the programme probably did more harm than good.

Little variety

HAIFA SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, Sub-Section Concert No. 12, Sunday, September 14, 1986, 8:00 PM. (Haifa Auditorium, June 28.) Schumann: "Mendelssohn" Overture, Op. 115; Brahms: Symphony No. 3 in F major, Op. 90; Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 5 in E flat major, Op. 72, "Emperor".

THERE WAS little variety in the last concert of the HSO's 37th season. Before the concert began, Sperber gave a run-down of the orchestra's forthcoming season.

The evening started off with a clear rendition of the Schumann overture, incidental music to Byron's poem.

Mendelsohn is a serious and dedicated musician, a pianist of impressive technical ability. His performance of the solo part of the "Emperor" showed commitment and care, power and craftsmanship. However, the recital lacked personal involvement, especially in the second movement which should have revealed more of the poetry of this lyrical music. The conductor and orchestra provided able support and accompaniment.



MUSIC REVIEW

Sperber and the HSO achieved good results in the terse Brahms symphony. Their rendition displayed the work's contrasting moods, from the power of the first movement, through the quietness of the Andante and swiftness of the third part with its chamber music atmosphere. The solos were good, especially in the winds and brass, with a sound and harmonious tone in the string group. The concert was a success with the audience, who accorded it warm and generous applause.

ESTHER REUTER

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(eg 74-78)	74-78
Charlich	Madrich
74-76	77-78
Other	
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in town	[if applicable]
	in unit
	Gedud
	Bialik

Aliya Year

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THE STATE COMPTROLLER REPORT NO. 37

THE BROADCASTING AUTHORITY — Greer Fay Cashman

The most intense drama is behind the cameras

That the Broadcasting Authority suffers from a chronic malaise of mismanagement, inefficiency and poor labour relations is no secret. The State Comptroller presents a comprehensive and revealing picture of the illness, and concludes that the prognosis is not good.

The recent strike, which blackened the television screens, silenced the radio and left the nation without news broadcasts for several days was the latest of some 50 labour disputes declared by Broadcasting Authority workers in the past three-and-a-half years.

The comptroller makes mention of 48 of these disputes in its report, covering the period January 1984-October 1986. They include strikes, sanctions and the disruption of broadcasting schedules and even individual programmes.

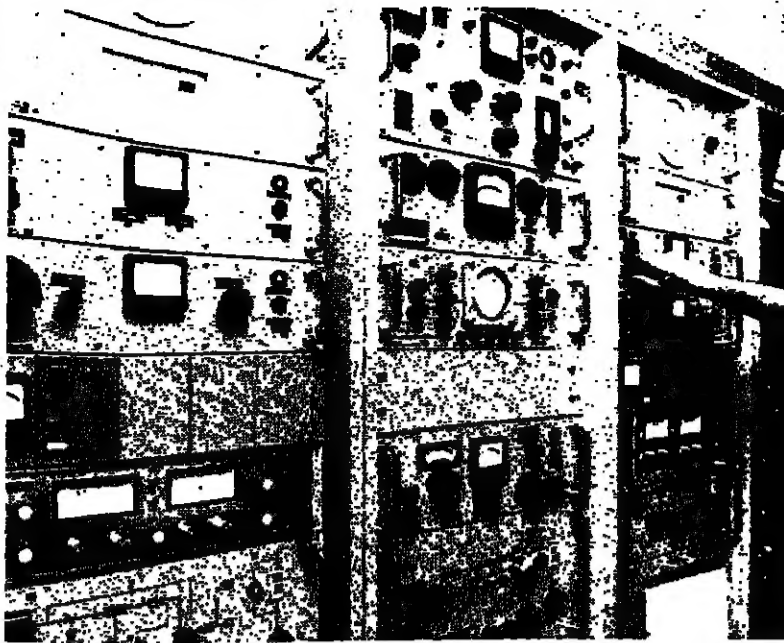
Although technicians are still wrangling about money with the IBA management, they have not had a monopoly on rocking the boat, the comptroller notes. When it wasn't them, it was the journalists, or the cameramen, or the programme researchers. Then it was the clerical staff and the freelancers. Once in a while the umbrella group of all the IBA works committees would issue an ultimatum to management; and sometimes, as happened in the most recent strike, the Histadrut got into the act and closed down broadcasts. There were even occasions when management imposed a blackout.

For the most part, it is the television that is affected; radio is less frequently taken off the air.

Some of the work disputes, the comptroller found, are not between labour and management, but really competition between the various labour groups, which are concerned that no one sector get far better wages and benefits than the others.

The overwhelming majority of disputes were connected with salary. The comptroller points out that even though proposals by outside organizations on how to improve the efficiency of the IBA operations through better management have long occupied the attentions of the IBA management committee, such commissioned studies have done little to change the status quo.

Acknowledging that the basic work agreements of IBA employees, formulated in the 1960s and early 1970s, may be outdated, the comptroller notes that some sectors of the IBA earn more than state employees, despite the fact that the grading, pay, benefits and terms of employment of the two should be on a par. Internal



(Camera 12)

decisions by IBA have produced benefits not included in the official wage agreements. For instance, technicians receive overtime for every hour worked beyond a 35-hour week. This now applies to all IBA workers, although it is not written into the collective work agreements.

The comptroller comments that the IBA management committee has never shown itself to be competent in dealing with unemployment, that is, workers hired for unneeded jobs, nor did it ever allocate the power to solve the problem.

As an example of management ineptness, the comptroller offers the favourite Israeli pastime of moonlighting. A 1963 IBA regulation states that any employee who takes on outside work without express permission is in violation of the law. Yet many IBA employees hold other jobs, without authorization, and management has done nothing to curtail such activities.

The comptroller is equally critical of the fact that neither management nor the management committee has exercised its authority to begin using the expensive electronic news gathering (ENG) equipment purchased several years ago. It has been gathering dust pending an agreement giving extra benefits to workers who would use it. Use of the ENG equipment would be both cost- and labour-efficient.

The Broadcasting Authority, says the comptroller, is overstaffed with some 1,550 people currently on the regular payroll, excluding 500 out-of-pocket workers who are represented

by no less than 14 works committees. The staff breakdown as stated in the comptroller's report is: Journalists and production staff, 810; clerical staff, 389; technicians, 281; musicians, 97; and 23 others.

Commenting on the IBA's overtime expenses, the comptroller notes that workers on stand-by receive between 66-100 per cent of the regular hourly wage for their time. In fiscal 1985, the IBA spent NIS 16,250 in overtime payments. In 1986 and up to the end of January 1987, this figure increased to NIS 25,890. Night-shift workers get 150 per cent compared to the 130 per cent earned in salary by those on the evening shift. Overtime for these employees is paid at rates of 150-205 per cent.

On the administrative side, the comptroller notes departmental discrepancies with respect to collection of licence fees for radio and television sets. Figures in one department do not coincide with those of another, the report complains, and it is also unclear why certain categories of people have been given exceptions from payment of the licence fee.

In 1985, the IBA collected approximately 700,000 fees — nowhere near the potential, estimated at 1,215 million. Of 183,000 exemptions the IBA issued, no evidence was found explaining why and for what time period those households were entitled not to pay.

The IBA was also lax in ascertaining whether bills for licence fees were being sent to the correct addresses. In 1986, 230,000 letters were returned by the postal authorities.

THE WATER Commission has not lived up to its responsibility to protect the country's water reserves from over-pumping. As a result, the quality and quantity of the country's future water reserves have been seriously endangered, the State Comptroller's report says.

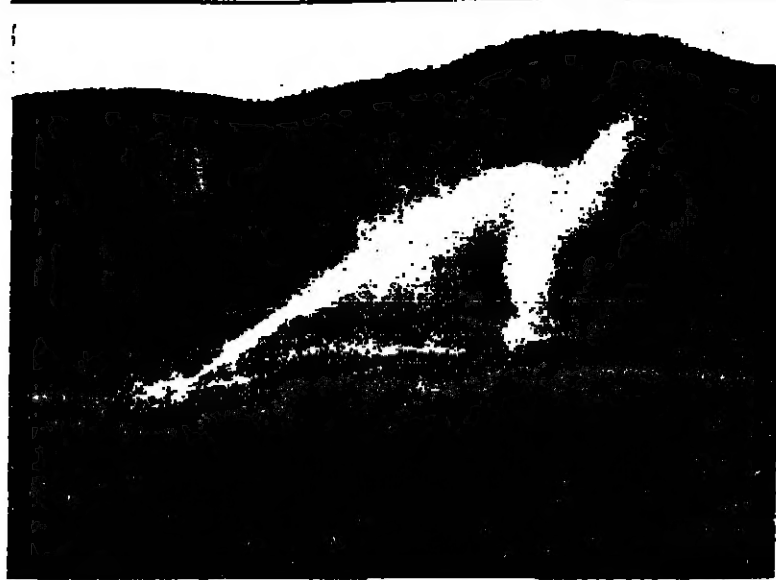
The report documents how the commission decided how much water to allocate, using a figure which was 240 million cubic metres greater than the actual amount of water available. This was because the working figure included recycled sewage water from projects that had not yet been completed. At the same time, however, 70 per cent of the farmers who were getting recycled sewage water from completed purification plants did not have to give up any of their fresh water quotas, even though the whole purpose of the recycling was to reduce the amount of high quality water used by farmers.

Since 1970, water reserves have been sacrificed to answer the immediate needs of agriculture, the report says. The resulting damage may be partially irreversible because salt water has penetrated and contaminated portions of the severely depleted and extremely important aquifers along the coastal plain.

As the fresh water levels in the aquifers dropped because of over-pumping, salt water and pollutants were able to penetrate at a much faster rate. The nitrate level of the water pumped from the coastal aquifer has doubled in the past 36 years, and 53 per cent of the coastal wells have nitrate levels that exceed

Threat to water resources

Andy Court



(Werner Braun)

the health standards of most Western countries (45 mg/ltr.), the report says.

As for water quality, an aquifer that is pumped to too low a level can be invaded by salt water and rendered permanently unusable, the comptroller notes. In October 1986, the underground water reserves were lacking 2 billion cu.m. of water, the equivalent of the country's annual needs. The amount of water that could be drawn from the mountain and coastal underground reserves without the penetration of salt water being a serious risk, had essentially been used up.

Until the dire situation of 1986, the water commissioner had ignored experts' recommendations to freeze or reduce the farmers' water quotas.

"The water commissioner is responsible for the most important national treasure of our country," the report says. "It appears that, over the course of years, the country's water economy was managed in a way that didn't match the responsibility that accompanies the job."

The situation can be improved by raising the price of water nearer to the actual cost of water production, the comptroller said. The government currently makes up the differ-

ence between the consumer price and the actual cost, a sum which totalled NIS 56.7 million in the 1985 fiscal year.

In 1985, the comptroller notes, farmers were charged a maximum of 44 to 54 per cent of the actual cost.

The high level of subsidies has encouraged farmers to raise crops that were not actually worth growing from the point of view of the national economy.

An avocado grower in the Jezreel Valley, for example, receives a return of 14 cents for every cubic metre of water he uses in an optimal harvest. The real cost is about 20 cents, the report says.

The farmer can only afford to grow avocados because of the subsidy. "In practice," the report says, "the price of water was never used as a device to regulate its use."

The State Comptroller recommends that the Water Commission immediately embark on a plan to replenish the country's endangered aquifers. The country also needs a clear and detailed masterplan that would bind all the parties involved in water planning, production and supply.

In addition, the Comptroller says, many agricultural settlements that have lately assumed a more "urban character" should have their water quotas examined at once.

The Water Commission, headed by the water commissioner, comes under the jurisdiction of the minister of agriculture. The commission is empowered to set water quotas and plays an influential role in determining water prices.

THE ISRAELI DEFENCE FORCES — Joshua Brilliant

The high cost of lax discipline

The army's attempt to impose discipline on crack units to set an example for the rest of the troops failed, yielding the opposite results of those intended, the State Comptroller found in his chapter on the IDF.

Though the report did not say so, soldiers in crack reconnaissance units have a reputation for disregarding orders. Thus, the chief of the general staff, the State Comptroller says, decided to make an example of them in a bid to tighten up discipline throughout the army. He ordered that any soldier in a crack unit found improperly dressed would be tried and punished like a regular soldier and sent out of his prestigious unit.

However, the discipline programme quickly fizzled out. The Military Police, which was supposed to report offenders to the Recruiting and Classification Centre, did so when the men were caught but generally did not report the outcome of their trials. As a result, no final action was taken against them, the State Comptroller says.

In the few instances where reports did reach the classification centre, no action was taken. The comptroller notes that by and large the offen-

ders were officers, career men or soldiers in compulsory service whose offences were minor or first time. Only two soldiers were expelled.

The comptroller notes that the troops in the reconnaissance units felt the tighter discipline was unfair because it was directed at them rather than at ordinary units. Nor did they believe that the programme would last long; they reasoned that the IDF had invested so much in their training that it would not be quick to send them back to regular units. Such attitudes contributed to the programme's failure.

Some 20 officers, from the rank of colonel to major general, however, told the State Comptroller that they had difficulty maintaining discipline. "Sloppy dress and a failure to implement orders have become routine among officers and men," wrote the Air Force commander to the CGS and the head of the Manpower Branch in a letter quoted by the comptroller.

The failure to obey orders led to road and training accidents, excessive casualties in battle and the loss of weapons. At least seven soldiers were killed and 10 others wounded

in road accidents due to a lack of discipline, the comptroller says. The number of soldiers injured in maneuvers in 1985 grew 13 per cent from 1984, with some two thirds of these caused at least in part by the failure to obey orders.

Hundreds of guns and large quantities of explosives disappeared from army stores, some of them turning up in the hands of terrorists, again reflecting a lack of discipline by soldiers. A committee headed by an aluf examined the matter and determined that standing orders for the storage and protection of weapons were inadequate. Many weapons disappeared, the committee concluded, because of sloppy conduct and a breach of discipline.

Even the number of soldiers injured in battle would have been lower had troops followed orders, the comptroller found after reviewing six reports filed in the wake of the incidents. No disciplinary action was taken following three of the incidents, while in the fourth case the army command suspected it received incorrect information but took no steps to verify it. In the fifth case, no action was taken against two of the four officers found responsible and

in the sixth case only one out of two officers responsible was punished.

The comptroller's report suggests that the commanders themselves were often responsible for the lack of discipline.

The 20 officers interviewed by the State Comptroller expressed the view that orders were occasionally unjustified, or were issued to cover commanders in case something went wrong or were issued without any means of implementing them. In some instances, generals themselves were found to ignore orders. At one meeting of the Ground Forces Command, only three of the CGS's nine orders were passed on and none was mentioned at meetings of the Northern and Central command or of the senior staff or Quartermaster Branch.

The Quartermaster Branch also turned a blind-eye to excessive call up of reservists. Multiplying the number of soldiers called up by the days they served produced a figure of 135,000 excess reserve days in the first three months of 1986 alone, the State Comptroller found. The matter is now under investigation, the government adds in its comment on the State Comptroller's report.

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PROVIDING A FOUNDATION
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An isolation that comes with age

By BEVERLEE BLACK

THERE ARE many fine centres for the elderly throughout the country. They offer activity and companionship for those who can get there. But for the elderly handicapped, just getting from one place to another is a major problem, if not impossible.

During a visit to some of these club houses, we discovered that due to lack of proper equipment, most of the elderly handicapped sit at home and have very little contact with their peers who are able to get around by themselves.

Part of the Forsake Me Not money was allocated to try to ease this situation a little. Money was given to build ramps for people in wheelchairs and those unable to climb stairs, for transportation to and from the centres and for special equipment.

The Toy Fund still has much to do for children in foster care and government institutions. Requests for aid from social workers are received daily, and a little can mean so much to them.

To help us meet our many commitments, for both the Forsake Me Not Fund and the Jerusalem Post Toy Fund, please send your cheques today to The Jerusalem Post Funds, P.O.B. 81, 91000 Jerusalem.

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NIS 500 In memory of my beloved husband, Gershon — Lili Fackler, Haifa.
NIS 200 Binjamin and Amiel Tzernach, Jerusalem.
NIS 180 Shikizang, Tel Aviv.
NIS 130 Anonymous, Jerusalem.
NIS 118 In loving memory of Seymour M. Rabinowitz and Helen and Hy Remland — Hesh and Dena Rabinowitz, Sde Nizan.
NIS 100 D. Kovac, Ramat Gan, Anonymous, Jerusalem. In memory of my dear father, Samuel Ark. of Leeds, England, on the occasion of his 100th birthday — Sylvia Ark, Jerusalem.

NIS 90 Anonymous, Jerusalem. In anticipation of a positive medical report — Anonymous, Kfar Sava.

NIS 80 In celebration of my 84th birthday — Deborah Enzer, Givatayim.

NIS 72 Michael and Joanne Harrison, Kiryat Ono.

NIS 60 P.N. Manheim, Ramat Gan.

NIS 54 Susie Mandel, Alon Shvut, Anonymous, Jerusalem. In appreciation of the positive news — Anonymous, Kfar Sava. In celebration of the 40th wedding anniversary of Pauline and Maurice Gabe — with affection from the Peters Family.

NIS 50 In memory of Tova Rand who passed away this year and was missed by her loving family on this Shabbat — Joe and Zippie Dubin, Migdal HaZahav. The Ladies' Bridge Party, Tel Aviv. In memory of our parents — Kathe and Lips Vaisman, Acre. Greetings to the "Golden Pairs," never to be forsaken or forgotten — The Small Sayron Bridge Club, Miriam Dobrow-Yaniv — Kibbutz Ramat Yohanan. In honour of the Golden Wedding of Lilian and Jack Summers — Riva and Cyril Morris, Tel Aviv. Anonymous, Jerusalem. In memory of my darling June — Mrs. L. Blumstein, South Africa. Steven and Michael Shamir, Tel Aviv. Harry and Frances Robey, Kibbutz Ein Dor.

NIS 40 Anonymous, Petah Tikva.

NIS 36 In loving memory of Dr. Joseph and Anne Feldman — Susan and Elyahua Reiter, Haifa.

NIS 30 Judith Loffer, Wyssotz.

NIS 25 Anonymous, Haifa. In memory of my late husband — E.B. Haifa, M. van der Hoop, Kiryat Ono.

NIS 20 Elise Obermeyer, Haifa. N.N. M. Carmel.

NIS 18 In honour of Moriah Rosenzweig's Bat Mitzva, Mazal Tov — The 6th graders of Kibbutz Tirat Zvi. For Yehuda's well being — Anonymous, Kfar Sava.

NIS 10 In the name of Sarah Esther Fier — Michael and Barbara Fier, Kaduwin.

NIS 5 Loni and Aaron Levin, Netanya. Mr. and Mrs. S. Rosenzweig, Netanya.

\$360 On the occasion of our wedding anniversary — Varda and Ya'acov Ellinson, Victoria, Australia.

\$250 In memory of our loved ones: Lina Marx, Jole Conzi and Abramo Conzi — Heinz Marx, Boca Raton, FL.

\$200 In honour of Julia Kohn, the best possible sister-in-law — Rosalind Kohn, Frank Fortscheimer, Columbus, OH.

\$100 In honour of Gertrude Ciem, my wonderful mother — Kenneth Glenn, Glendale, AZ. In gratitude for recovery of mother, Mrs. Tess Krivitz — Dr. and Mrs. Harold Krivitz, Interlaken, NJ. In memory of my parents, Mr. Philip and Mrs. Jennie Fleisch — William Fleisch, On behalf of the American Embassy Women's

Group, Tel Aviv. Irene McLaughlin, NY.

\$50 Chaim Greenberg, East Islip, NY. In memory of Mrs. Deborah Hildner — Frances Dean, Clearwater, FL. In memory of my parents, Benjamin Edelberg and Clara Rosenzweig — Anonymous, Argentina.

\$36 In loving memory of my beloved father on the 10th anniversary of his death — Werner Weisbach and family, Mexico. In memory of my parents, Frances and Louis Chazan — Ellen Chazan-Rosenberg, Spring Valley, NY.

\$35 Janis Holt, Cardington, OH.

\$25 In honour of our dear friend Betty Yaller's birthday — Blinnie and Sy Weinstein, Hicksville, NY. E.W. and Helen Woodman, Newport, AR. Jack and Shirley Bitman, Arad. The Bala Cynwyd PA Women's Megilla Group, Robert Lippman, W. Germany.

\$20 In memory of Monroe and Jo Ann Berrol — David Berrol, Hadley, MA. In honour of my Israeli grandchildren, Ariel and Shmrit Hirschhorn — Doris Chaffee, Wakefield, RI.

\$18 In memory of my beloved mother and husband — Rochelle Agatston, Los Angeles, CA. In honour of the anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Marx — Adrienne Marks, Phoenix, AZ. Beatrice Zeidman, Wharton, TX.

\$10 Jacob Goldberg and Pearl Levine, Springfield, MA.

\$5 In memory of my departed beloved father, Sam Blonder — Leo and Frida Blonder, Tucson, AZ. In cherished memory of my beloved parents — Bronia Pichowicz, Rome, Italy.

\$50 In memory of my dear mother, Rose Saville — Marjorie Glick, London, England. In memory of my uncle, Israel Bernhart — Marjorie Glick, London, England.

\$10 Jane C. Plumtree, Princeton, England.

AUST\$25 Varda and Ya'acov Ellinson, Victoria, Australia.

DM 25 Hans Mandl, W. Germany.

New Donations	Progress Total
NIS 2,803	NIS 124,479.55
US\$2,006	US\$73,381.91
\$110	\$1,772
Aust.\$25	Aust.\$3,250
DM 25	DM 4,410
	Can\$1,400
	Sfr. 1,020
	SAR 126
	Dfl. 795
	Sfr. 1,000
	Sfr. Kr. 550
	SFR 500
	Scot £7



NIS 200 Anonymous, Netanya.

NIS 160 Stein Family, NJ.

NIS 50 In honour of our grandson, Yuvai Abaroni, who will be 18 years old this month and is graduating from Kfar Silver — Joel and Zippie Dubin, Migdal HaZahav.

NIS 36 In honour of the birth of Isaac's brother, Jacob Kestenberg — Lionel Kestenberg, Jerusalem.

NIS 26.30 Pearl Shelly Gefen, Michmoret.

NIS 25 M. van der Hoop, Kiryat Ono.

NIS 18 In honour of David Gofritz, Rehovot.

NIS 18 In honour of Loti Yegor's Bat Mitzva, Mazal Tov — The 6th graders of Kibbutz Tirat Zvi. In honour of Elina Finkler's Bat Mitzva, Mazal Tov — The 6th graders of Kibbutz Tirat Zvi. Jeff Bars, Jerusalem.

NIS 10 Wishing C.P. a safe journey home. In honour of J.W.Z.'s retirement — Horeh.

\$200 Frank Forstheimer, Columbus, OH.

\$150 Rosalind Kohn, NY.

\$72 Sylvia and Marc Pomerantz, Pittsburgh, PA. \$50 In honour of the birthday of our granddaughter, Ashleigh Blair Shulman — Eleanor and Miriam Shulman, NY. In memory of my parents, Benjamin Edelberg and Clara Rosenzweig — Anonymous, Argentina.

\$37.35 In memory of Morris, Henry, Hymie and Benjie Taylor — Esther Weisman and Herman Taylor, Durban, South Africa.

\$25 In my daughter Claire Weiss's name, good health to her and her family — Ellen Zilkin, RI. Robert Elyse, W. Germany.

\$20 From the children of Gan Ariel, S.A.R. Academy, Riverdale, NY.

\$18 Beatrice Zeidman, Wharton, TX.

\$25 In loving memory of Daphne Joyce Rita Holt Austin.

New Donations	Progress Total
NIS 591.30	NIS 55,185.70
US\$647.35	US\$37,305.55
\$25	\$1,225
	Can\$1,091
	DM 2,492
	Aust \$3,301
	Sfr. Kr. 350
	Sfr. 660
	SAR 126
	Dfl. 1,055

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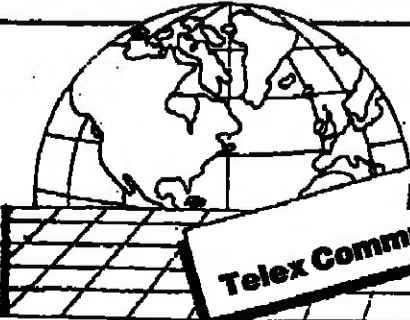
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MARKET
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Behind
the share
decline

The share market has relentlessly tumbled lower, and in so doing it has won the headlines for a space from a wide range of issues. The style and coverage proceeded according to the book. A month ago, when the market was still rising, the media could be said to have been in a state of euphoria. In response to the rise in stock prices, the media was quick to point out that the rise in stock prices was a result of the rise in the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange (TASE) index. The rise in the TASE index was a result of the rise in the share prices of the companies listed on the TASE.

Journalistic reason for this is that, as in every other life, bad news makes better than good news. People always represent a better than people making it, so that, for example, a company reporting a profit will always get a bigger headline than a company reporting a profit.

In the Israeli context, part of the tradition of stock market journalism is that the finance minister, or some other senior official, has to trot out an inane statement about how the government wishes the market only well. Left-wing MKs sound off in a ritual manner about the huge losses being suffered (by capitalists, but never mind), and everyone wrings their hands and tut-tuts ineffectually.

Simultaneously, numerous experts from banks, brokerage houses and the exchange itself find themselves giving interviews all over the place, explaining why what has happened has happened, and what might happen next. In the current case, as in many previous ones, one of the favorite explanations has been the conspiracy theory.

This says that a number of "powerful market forces" such as banks or others got together to push the market lower, either to further their own designs or to damage those of their rivals. In the present instance, the villains in question are supposed to have been Bank Hapoalim and the Clal Group.

The conspiracy approach has an

appealing simplicity which explains its repeated use, but it remains badly flawed in many respects. Even if it is entirely true, it would be at most — a partial explanation for the length and depth of the market's fall over the past two months. However, it is dubious if it is entirely true, or even substantially true.

That several major players, including the Clal Group and senior officers in Bank Hapoalim's securities operations felt that the market was high at the end of April and needed to retrace some of its recent rise is indisputable. They were, however, not alone in their assessment, as others were also of that mind. None of this proves, or even suggests, a conspiracy, since a market that rises over 70 per cent on four months, with many share prices doubling in that time, is going to cause at least some people to think that the time has come to sell.

The additional evidence cited in support for the "approaching economic downturn" theory is that retail sales have slowed dramatically in recent months, and are expected to drop further during the summer holiday period. This has already fed into inventory build-ups and is working through to manufacturers. Add to this the fears of widespread labour unrest and the assumption that the low points in inflation and interest rates, at least for this year, are already at hand, and you have ample reasons for why the market has gone down. These boil down to the best rationale of all: more sellers than buyers.

The sellers include manufacturers and retailers who need to finance larger inventories, or lower than expected production, as well as investors who don't see why they should hold high-priced shares if the outlook is cloudy to stormy, however sunny the economic weather currently is.

All this makes a lot of sense, especially since it also explains why some fund managers have been forced to appear in the market as sellers — they are responding to the ongoing redemption of units by holders who need or want the money, not indulging in fantasies or conducting private wars against their rivals, as some reports would have us believe. The funds cannot dictate the market's trend for any length of time, unless they reflect the wider public who invest through them. The managers are not the powerful trendsetters they are often portrayed as being, at least in this analysis.

The only problem with this whole theory is that it will take a long time to prove or disprove, because the necessary data do not yet exist. Many people deny that the stock exchange, at least in Israel, can function as a predictor of trends in the real economy — although its record in the last five years, even taking into account its tendency to overreact, or exaggerate — is very impressive.

First of two parts the second part will appear on Sunday

Shahal on energy-sector shake-up

'No way to block reform'

TEL AVIV (Item) — Energy Minister Moshe Shahal vowed to go ahead with his energy-industry reform programme next month, as scheduled, despite fierce opposition from the big three fuel concerns.

Speaking at a meeting of government-owned corporations in the energy sector, Shahal said economic growth could not resume until fundamental changes were implemented. Among those, he said, was a reduced role for the government, an end to monopolies and a policy of encouraging new and smaller companies.

All of these goals are contained in Shahal's programme, which aims to end the three-way division of the local fuel market between Paz Oil Co., Delek Fuel Corp. and Sonol Ltd. The three have opposed the plan, contending it will jeopardize Israel's security and not significantly benefit consumers.

Shahal lashed out at the big three, saying their opposition was understandable from the point of view of a long-standing monopoly. Despite this, the government must imple-

ment a policy that is in the best interests of the general public. And, once the deregulation of the fuel sector has been completed, Shahal said he would turn his attention to the coal industry.

Shahal said that this September he would offer three-year drilling rights in six areas to oil-exploration concerns. The areas to be offered are large ones and the rights would be offered to multinational concerns as well as local ones.

Also at yesterday's meeting Energy Minister Director-General Nathan Arad reported that Israel would import 4.75 million tons of oil under contract this year. Of that two million tons will come from Mexico and Norway, each, and the remainder from Egypt.

Another two million tons would be acquired on the spot market from various sources. For that 20 per cent of the country's imported oil, the state-owned Haifa Oil Refineries Ltd., the big three fuel companies and large industrial users would compete on price, Arad said.

Under the plan, the big three will

be able to import oil, fix their own prices and sell it to whom they choose, even to customers abroad, without dealing with the Oil Refineries. Currently, all three fuel companies must buy their fuel through the Oil Refineries.

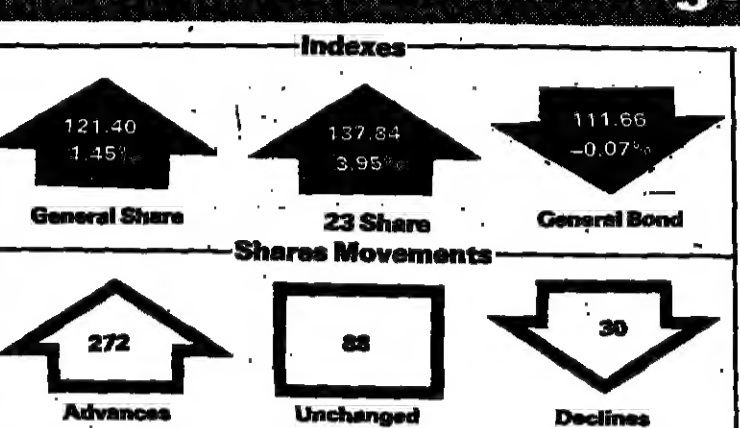
In addition, large consumers of fuel — large companies, the Defence Ministry and the Electric Corp., for instance — will also be able to buy directly on international markets if they choose.

Arad stressed that competitiveness was the key to efficiency in the market.

Meanwhile, Ze'ev Refuah, chairman of the government Companies Authority, said that of the 200 state-owned corporations, there was no reason for between 100 and 150 to be in government hands.

A share offering in Naphta Petroleum Corp. begins on Sunday when the government presents a prospectus for an offering to the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. It will be followed by offerings in the Industrial Buildings Corp. in Israel, and Bezek, in Israel and the U.S.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange



Selected Prices

Name	Price	Vol.	% change
General Share	121.40		-1.45%
23 Share	137.84		-3.95%
General Bond	111.66		-0.07%

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General Bond	111.66		-0.07%

Name	Price	Vol.	% change
General Share	121.40		-1.45%
23 Share	137.84		-3.95%
General Bond	111.66		-0.07%

Israel Money Market

Bank	Deposit	7 days	14 days	30 days
Bank Leumi	10,000-49,999	12.25	12.50	12.75
Bank Hapoalim	10,000-49,999	12.25	12.50	12.75
Bank Leumi	50,000+	12.50	12.75	13.00
Bank Hapoalim	50,000+	12.50	12.75	13.00
Bank Leumi	100,000+	12.75	13.00	13.25
Bank Hapoalim	100,000+	12.75	13.00	13.25
Bank Leumi	200,000+	13.00	13.25	13.50
Bank Hapoalim	200,000+	13.00	13.25	13.50
Bank Leumi	500,000+	13.25	13.50	13.75
Bank Hapoalim	500,000+	13.25	13.50	13.75
Bank Leumi	1,000,000+	13.50	13.75	14.00
Bank Hapoalim	1,000,000+	13.50	13.75	14.00
Bank Leumi	2,000,000+	13.75	14.00	14.25
Bank Hapoalim	2,000,000+	13.75	14.00	14.25
Bank Leumi	5,000,000+	14.00	14.25	14.50
Bank Hapoalim	5,000,000+	14.00	14.25	14.50
Bank Leumi	10,000,000+	14.25	14.50	14.75
Bank Hapoalim	10,000,000+	14.25	14.50	14.75

Bank	Deposit	7 days	14 days	30 days
Bank Leumi	10,000-49,999	12.25	12.50	12.75
Bank Hapoalim	10,000-49,999	12.25	12.50	12.75
Bank Leumi	50,000+	12.50	12.75	13.00
Bank Hapoalim	50,000+	12.50	12.75	13.00
Bank Leumi	100,000+	12.75	13.00	13.25
Bank Hapoalim	100,000+	12.75	13.00	13.25
Bank Leumi	200,000+	13.00	13.25	13.50
Bank Hapoalim	200,000+	13.00	13.25	13.50
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Bank Hapoalim	10,000,000+	14.25	14.50	14.75

Foreign Markets

EUROPEAN FINANCIAL MARKETS (July 2)

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Hussein's charming gesture

IF KING HUSSEIN believes he can spit in Israel's face and still secure a national Israeli consensus any time soon on peace talks under the umbrella of an international conference, he is woefully mistaken.

The Hashemite monarch cannot have ignored the outraged, worldwide Jewish - including Israeli - reaction to the Austrian president's visit to the Vatican last week. On the contrary, he appears to have been emboldened by it in his resolve to be the first among national sovereigns to serve host in his own capital city to the one-time Nazi officer with charges of war crimes hanging over his head. That way, presumably, he was to prove himself a true Arab patriot, independent of the U.S. and ever ready to stand up to Israel and "Zionism."

He may well have succeeded. But at the risk of losing a cherished political goal.

Dr. Waldheim is very popular throughout the Arab and Moslem world today, precisely because he is anathema to Jews. That countries such as Libya, Iran and, for that matter, Iraq, have also invited Austria's president to pay state visits to them is not surprising. Birds of a feather do flock together. A visit to Tripoli, for example, would suit Dr. Waldheim just fine.

But when it is King Hussein who does the inviting and lauds Dr. Waldheim, for the "noble human values for which he stands," and for his "patriotism, integrity and wisdom," it is time to put it to him that he either does not know the meaning of words, or else uses a vocabulary so different from Israel's that a meeting of minds is well-nigh impossible.

That no such response to the Waldheim visit has come from the Prime Minister's Office is perhaps understandable. The Hashemite monarch has just served Yitzhak Shamir with the best argument he could devise for opposing the very idea of an international conference, and why should the premier criticize King Hussein for doing that. What is incomprehensible is the thunderous silence of Foreign Minister Shimon Peres.

Mr. Peres has staked his own reputation and his party's fortunes in the next Knesset election on winning the hearts and minds of Israelis for peace through direct negotiations to be held within the framework of an international conference. With Dr. Waldheim already on Jordanian soil, Mr. Peres evidently still believes that all he has to prove to the citizenry is that King Hussein endorses his own prescription, and does not intend to recruit the big powers into trying to impose an Arab-style solution on Israel. As though this were all that is now needed.

Surely the least that Jerusalem should have told Amman this week is that the Waldheim visit is irreconcilable with the possibility of improving ties between Israel and Jordan. One cabinet minister did make that suggestion at a ministerial meeting two days ago. His name is Ariel Sharon, and he deserves an accolade for it. But it was not adopted. Mr. Shamir turned it down, while Mr. Peres kept his thoughts to himself. Apologies, it seems, are due to the pope.

Alarm bells

THE IMPACT of the State Comptroller's special report on the Lavi project was so overwhelming, it put in the shade the several inventories of administrative wrongdoing detailed in his regular annual report.

Recipients of some of the worst drubbing are the ministries, and the ministers, of Housing and Construction and of Industry and Trade.

The tale was already told at the time of the four new employees taken on by Shikun U'Pituah after it had been decided to reduce manpower at the building company - two of the four being political friends of the housing and construction minister, and the two others his relatives. The manner of hiring the four, the State Comptroller makes clear, departed from established procedures and was made in disregard of an opinion by the attorney-general and of a government decision that the hiring of employees in government corporations must be based on relevant criteria only. The State Comptroller recommends that all four appointments be rescinded.

In his response, the minister, David Levy, still denies that there was anything irregular about the appointments.

One aspect of the activity of the Industry and Trade Ministry that made the headlines during the past year concerned the import of frozen lamb to relieve a local shortage - notably the ministry's refusal to approve it, in defiance of a recommendation by the ministry's meat panel that it should do so. The State Comptroller lists the explanations offered by the ministry's director-general for this attitude. They were, first, that the ministry was not obligated to accept the panel's recommendations, and, secondly, that promoting sheep breeding, using meat shortages as a prod, is in the national interest.

The State Comptroller notes that he was not persuaded by either explanation, especially since the price set for the imported lamb would have been equal to that of the local product, and thus could not have undersold it.

Since the industry and trade minister is himself a large-scale sheep breeder - a point not touched upon in the report - he might have been expected to immediately provide a reasoned rebuttal of the State Comptroller's strictures which would at least ring true to the man-in-the-street. Oddly, although most other sections in the chapter on Industry and Trade elicited such rebuttals, the section on lamb imports did not.

Or perhaps not so oddly after all. For, after this year's Comptroller report, it would appear that what we have in this country is no longer the familiar woe of maladministration, but rather a deeper rot of cronyism, nepotism, and avarice in high places.

WITH NO changes in the formal mechanisms of government, the political system of Israel has been undergoing a major transformation. While the nation's parliamentary, party and election systems have remained the same, there has been a major shift in the centres of power and the way decisions are made and implemented. It changes the answer to the age-old question, central to understanding of any polity: who governs?

Who, indeed, governs in Israel today? The government itself, as a focus of national decision-making, has been in decline ever since the dominant position of Mapai, the central labour party, only one element in today's Labour Party, began to weaken. Its decline was one of the main consequences of the Lavon affair, which rocked the party in the early 1960s and led to the departure of its charismatic leader, David Ben-Gurion. What followed could be described as non-decision-making, marked by a balancing of competing interests that often led to stalemate.

The first Likud government under Menachem Begin in 1977 brought no fundamental changes. However, there was a shift in the interests that clamoured for recognition, as well as the introduction of a new element of populism in government - the unmediated relationship of government, primarily of its leader, with the undifferentiated masses. The symbolic became an important element in politics, the nationalist rhetoric of the election rally in the city square carrying over into the decision-making centres of government.

In time, the malfunctioning within the successive Likud governments, a product of the proliferating personal and interest rivalries, further contributed to the weakening of government decision-making.

With the departure of its supreme leader from the political scene, the Likud entered into a succession crisis, similar to that of Mapai after Ben-Gurion. Unlike Mapai, however, the Likud lacked structured methods of internal political competition. What was left was the populist element, manipulated by the competing candidates for power, with varying degrees of effectiveness.

THE CREATION of the national unity government, with its built-in stalemate, after the election of 1984, did not create a new situation of governmental weakness. It confirmed it. Long before the unity government took office, there had been a shift of power to elements of government regarded as apolitical, and who were, in fact, barred by law from active participation in the political arena.

The army chief of general staff became an important factor in the formulation and public

The transformation of Israeli politics

Who governs?

Allan E. Shapiro

promotion of defence policy. He became a regular participant in cabinet discussions of defence issues, a state of affairs unthinkable under Ben-Gurion. Matters once settled by political deals now became issues to be determined by rules promulgated by the attorney-general, a regular participant in cabinet meetings under Begin; or they were redefined into legal questions, to be answered by the courts. The judicial commission of investigation developed from a method of review into an alternative forum of policy-making.

Even the rabbinate has become a political actor, taking sides not only on the power struggles within the religious camp, but on major national issues, let alone peripheral matters, such as extraditing a born-again felon or disposing of the wheat crop in a sabbatical year.

The president of the state has assumed an activist role. In the General Security Services affair that arose as a result of the cover-up of the Ashkelon bus incident, it was the president's policy preferences, rather than the ministerial advice traditionally tendered in such matters, that governed the use of the presidential prerogative of pardon. Moreover, President Herzog took the unusual step of publicly defending his actions.

Together with weakness at the centre of governmental decision-making, there went an accretion of power in the bureaucratic periphery. In the military bureaucracy, senior commanders became articulate, competing foci of influence.

While Defence Minister Rabin was finally successful in nominating his choice for chief of general staff, he betrayed his lack of control over the army promotions prior to Dan Shomron's appointment, accepting defeat on such a sensitive issue as the appointment of Pollard's handler, Aviem Sella, as commander of an air force base, and temporizing on the appointment of the new commander of the Nahal. The controversy over the Lavi has again shown up the defence minister as lacking control over his own civilian and military bureaucracy.

The erosion of governmental power has

meant an accretion of power in non-governmental bureaucracies as well. As in the private corporate world, ownership in the public sector is no guarantee of control. The Ernest Japhet affair, indeed the entire history of the bank stock manipulation and subsequent bail-out, showed how irrelevant the question of ownership of the banks was to the issue of where the decisions were made.

Today, as far as the government and the nation are concerned, Israel Aircraft Industries is an independent centre of power which must be reckoned with as such, without regard to where formal ownership lies. In the decision-making process summarized in the recent State Comptroller's report on the Lavi fiasco, it seems clear that the IAI had interests of its own, organizational interests, which entered into its estimates and evaluations. The defence ministry and military bureaucracy which were directly responsible for the project had their own organizational interests. The approval given over the years by successive chiefs of general staff and defence ministers, was hardly an indication of a consensus in favour of the Lavi. Rather, it indicated how little the formal wielders of ultimate decision-making powers were involved.

PERHAPS AN exception should be made in the case of former defence minister Moshe Arens, an aeronautical engineer by profession, with personal and professional ties with Israel Aircraft Industries. The Arens case shows how dangerous is the combination of political power with professional expertise. It is questionable if Arens was acting with a view to his obligations as the minister responsible, or as a representative of the very interests which it was his duty to supervise.

Aren's one so-called achievement with regard to the Lavi is his success in obtaining independent financing in American aid, to the tune of some \$300 million annually, for the project. This may prove to have been the most expensive schmon in Israel's history, entailing a commitment of billions. At the time, the special American subvention for the Lavi was

presented as justification for continuing the project, even though it was always clear that the lion's share of the financing would have to come out of Israel's defence budget.

In the same way, success in selling Israel development bonds, earmarked for the since abandoned Mediterranean-Dead Sea Canal, was presented as proof that the very expensive electricity the project was designed to produce was a reasonable buy.

Fundraisers' syndrome was in evidence at later stages of the Lavi controversy, with the proposal for a special United Lavi Appeal, to fund the project on the basis of voluntary contributions. This fitted in with the populist pitch, which touted the Lavi as a national project and not an economic proposition, in the words of Likud MK Dan Tichon.

Populism works on symbols. Call it a national project, a challenge, like the development of the Negev and Galilee, and there is reason enough to take the public for a superstitious ride. Israel Aircraft Industries workers can flex their political muscles, point to the number of seats in the Knesset they and their families elect; and their unabashed pressure politics in support of the Lavi is no longer a matter of pocket-book politics, but the quintessence of patriotism. Just ask Arik Sharon.

The combination of interest group pressures, from organizations, bureaucracies and wage earners, with populist symbols of the "national challenge" variety, is a powerful mix. In the West Bank, the converging interests of real estate promoters, Herut fund-raisers, and Gush Emunim's messianic servants of the divinely-ordained national project have produced a cult with an interest base that has preoccupied, in large measure, rational debate on security and policy issues. Will there be a Greater Lavi Movement as well?

The transformation of Israeli politics has not only changed the context of decision-making but also its quality. With the pressures of the interest groups applied directly to the decision-makers, without the mediation of a structured political process, and with the political leadership subject to the manipulated symbols of populist fantasy, the decision-making process has become increasingly irrational.

There is no rational method of weighing a national challenge or the institutional interests of the IAI and the defence establishment bureaucrats. There are ways of neutralizing them. That is the aim of a rational decision-making process.

The sorry history of the Lavi illustrates that the progressive erosion of political effectiveness at the heart of government involves a progressive weakening of the power of reason to determine the course of events.

The writer is a political scientist.

READERS' LETTERS

ANIMAL EXPERIMENTS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - Your article of June 4, "Aids vaccine safely tested," may be somewhat premature, as the French researcher who injected himself admits, but it illustrates a general principle of medical history, which has long been hidden from public view. Until the Aids epidemic, the public generally believed that medical progress could only be achieved with the help of animal experimentation. Aids is proving that this is in fact not the case, since progress is being made despite the lack of a suitable "animal model" of this disease. Anyone who has made a serious study of the history of medicine soon realizes that all the great human medical advances were made either accidentally (e.g. penicillin), or through astute clinical observation on man himself. The initial discovery was then tested on laboratory animals, with varying degrees of success, to "prove" that it would work (on man).

So there may be a silver lining to the current Aids epidemic: it may bring us out of the dark ages of animal experimentation, and thereby promote true science and a higher ethic for mankind.

A. MENACHE, Animal Liberation Givatayim.

LIFE IN AUSTRIA

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - Like Thomas Chaimowicz, whose letter appeared in your issue of May 19, I am a native of Austria. I spent the first 10 years of my life in Vienna's Prater where my father was a store-owner. He had been wounded in action, fighting for his fatherland on the Russian front in World War I.

My recollections, and those of all former Austrian Jews I know, are quite different from the professor's. I recall the church bells ringing a welcome to Hitler on the order of Cardinal Innitzer, who earlier had led anti-Semitic parades. My father's neighbours and former friends appeared in brown SA uniforms and forced my sisters to wash the city streets. We had to attend segregated schools with mobs of "nice" Viennese boys waiting to beat us when we came out.

Certainly, there were decent, and in some cases, fearless Austrians. Unfortunately, they were rare. I have been to Austria since the war and have seen people praying at Cardinal Innitzer's tomb in Vienna's St. Stephen's Cathedral. That, and Kurt Waldheim's election, convinced me that very little has changed.

KURT GORWITZ East Lansing, Michigan.

PART-TIME FOSTER-PARENTS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - We are looking for families who are prepared to be part-time foster-parents for retarded adults. These adults, who live in the remedial village community, Kfar Rafael, north of Beersheba, have no families to take care of them when other members of the village go home for a weekend, once a month. The same problem exists also during the summer, when the other villagers go home for two weeks' holiday.

People who are ready to take these retarded adults into their homes - whether for weekends or for a longer period of time - are requested to get in touch with me for further details. My address is Kfar Rafael, Kibbutz Shoval, D.N. Hanegev, 85320. Tel 057-916310.

ELANA RAZ Chairman, Parents' Committee. Shoval.

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IMMIGRANT ABSORPTION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - In regard to Abraham Rabinovich's excellent article on "Luxury Pioneering" (June 19), I was rather fascinated to learn that the Jewish Agency has now gone into the hotel business. Placing Russian immigrants into modern hotels, even for a brief period of time, can only serve to create a sense of frustration and disillusionment, and will certainly not help them see the realities of our country.

It would be more logical to place Russian immigrants in settings which are characteristic of the culture and way of life of this country, whether it be kibbutzim, moshavim or pioneering settlement areas. This would give them a sense of challenge and a feeling of what the country is really like.

I think the comments of the new immigrants suggesting that living in a five-star hotel is not concomitant with the atmosphere of how they see Israel suggests that this policy ought to be reviewed.

DR. REUBEN SCHINDLER Director, School of Social Work, Bar-Ilan University Ramat Gan.

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POSTSCRIPTS

P.S. THE FRENCH government has decided to let dead dogs lie - in a 19th century animal cemetery which has been rescued from closure.

Dating from 1899, the graveyard at Asnières, a north Paris suburb, had been due to shut on September 1 because of financial problems.

But Pierre Mehaiguerie, minister of public works, announced that the cemetery was being registered as an historic site and bought by the government.

The graveyard provides a last resting place for some 2,700 dogs, cats, rabbits, horses and monkeys.

Among the famous dogs buried there are Rin Tin Tin, the dog that starred in a Western film named after him, and Barry the St. Bernard who, according to his tombstone, "saved the lives of 40 people and died trying to save the 41st."

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